# MEMOIRS
OF THE
Lord Viſcount
# DUNDEE,
THE
HIGHLAND CLANS,
AND THE
Maſſacre of GLENCO:
WITH
An ACCOUNT of
DUNDEE's Officers after they went to *France*.

By an OFFICER of the Army.

*Non ille pro caris amicis*
*Aut patria timidus mori.*
Hor. Carm. Lib. 4. Ode 9.

*Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando*
*Explicet* —— Virg. Æneid. Lib. 2.

—— *ſeries longiſſima rerum*
*Per tot ducta viros* —— Virg. Æneid. Lib. 1.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

# THE PREFACE.

*Nothing but the Respect I bear to my Country, and the Injustice I see it suffer, both by* Party *and* National *Writers, could engage me to undertake so insuperable a Labour. The first write as they affect, with prepensed Resolutions of doing no Justice, but heaping all Advantages on their own Party, and a Dash from their malicious Pen, can make* Glenlyon *that massacred* Glenco, Glenlyon *the* Sacred. *Every Day we see as great Contradictions in their scurrilous Papers which they scatter about, and their inflam'd Passions swell'd to that pitch, that neither Church nor State, nor even the*

*Queen Her Self is free from their Lashes.* The Queen is lash'd!

*As for* National *Historians, who are Aliens, and have no Interest in a Country, nor Love for it, they must have a natural Aversion to it, in many Respects, especially when its Vertue and Honour stand in Competition with theirs, and therefore are inclinable to misrepresent or eclipse the Heroick Actions of another Nation, and give them such a Turn in the Stile, that the Reader shall not improve, nor the Country have any Credit by them. All Generals swallow up Particulars, and altho' of different Natures, often give them Tastes and Colours like themselves; as soon as Rivers enter the Ocean, they lose their fresh-water Taste, and Cristalline Colours, and become green and saltish, by reason of the stronger Body that overcomes them; so* England *being richer and more powerful than Her Neighbours, gives better Encouragement to Hirelings and Scriblers, and consequently never want her Cause manag'd to the best Advantage, and oft to the Detriment of others, to make her self Glorious. When, on my Travels, I read the* English *News, and saw many Books published, it griev'd me exceedingly, to think that so much good and substantial History, that might be useful and honourable to Posterity, should*

be

*be lost and buried in Oblivion: This is the only Argument that engaged me to list my self in the Crowd. Histories are the Records of Honour, and of every thing that's Good and Great; The Life and Soul of Vertue and Religion, and like a Microscope, magnify and illuminate all the Heroick Actions and Exploits of our Ancestors, and create in us an ambitious Emulation to excel them, or a modest Blush to conceal our own Imperfections. If any Man, for Reasons best known to himself, should decry my History, Why did he not write it? It is Twenty Years since the Things were transacted, and now is the time or never.* Cum tua non edas, carpas mea Carmina noli. *A Servant that does his Duty, tho' with some Mistakes and Errors, is preferable to him that knows it better, but never endeavours any Performance. He's a brave Man that courts a Woman of Quality and Degree above himself, and who knows but he may gain her Affections; but he's timorous and faint hearted that dares not address what he loves, and deserves no fine Mistress. This is my Comfort, what I write is my own, and there are many Eye-witnesses living to confirm it, neither can there be any History wrote of Scotland, for forty Years past, but what must be oblig'd to me, and I am oblig'd to no Man, except for the Account of the inhumane*

*Massacre of* Glenco, *which has been privately handed about ever since a few Months after the barbarous Action, and I have taken it* verbatim *from the Original. What the learned Author of the three Volumes of* The History of England, *writes of* Scotland, *is so short and general, that no Man can improve by it, and what these ignorant* Party *Scriblers writ of King* James *and King* William's *Lives, are so false and byass'd, that they lead Men into gross Mistakes and Errors, and occasion many dangerous Disputes between the Readers and Witnesses. The Author of King* William's *Life impudently affirms, that the Lord Viscount* Dundee *had* 6000 *Men at* Gillicranky, *and that* Mackay *had* 4000, *whereas* Dundee *had but* 2000, *and* Mackay *above* 6000, *which many of both Kingdoms can testify. What is written of* Scotland, *is so much stain'd and tainted with an Antimonarchical and National Pencil, that it is not to be credited; every Man writing to satisfy the particular Gust and Relish of his own irregular Appetite and Party-desire, without any Respect of Truth and Honour to their Neighbours.*

*I confess, that if this substantial History, which I have comprehended in Nine Sheets, had been in some mens hands, and agreeable to their Humours, they would have swell'd them*

*them into Volumes, and have writ the Glorious Actions, perform'd by* DUNDEE *and the Clans, in Golden Letters and repos'd them in all Colleges and Libraries, as Sacred and Divine; then we should have had nothing but Draughts and Landskips of* Gillicrankies *and* Glencoes, *in all Noblemens, and Gentlemens Parlours, with large Encomiums and Characters, to his Praise, confirm'd with full Glasses to his Memory: But his ill Fortune was, his Loyalty became a Crime! And he, who took the Sacrament in the Church of* England *two Days before he was kill'd, and all his Life-time was a strenuous Promoter of* Episcopacy *in* Scotland, *had the Misfortune to oppose the* Sacred REVOLUTION, *whereby our* Laws, Liberties, *and* Religion *were Preserv'd. But we see Generals, with other Men have their different Fates; some die in Battle for their Honour, others fly their Country for their Treasure.* Dundee *and the Clans fought it bravely, and he dyed in the Field of Battle;* Glenco *and his Followers took the Oaths, became loyal and obedient Subjects, and liv'd peaceably and quietly under the establish'd Government, yet were inhumanly massacred: Now which had the best on't;* Dundee *and his Clans, for their Rebellion, or* Glenco *and his Followers, for*

their Loyalty, it will puzzle a Country Parson to resolve.

Whether was it better for Major General Buchan and Cannin, with their Officers, to go to France, and live sparingly on what their unfortunate Master K. James could allow them, or stay at Home, and live peaceably, and be Glenco'd.

Whether was it better for the Scotch Episcopal Clergy at the Revolution, to fly into England for Shelter and Succour, than stay in Scotland, and see their Wives and Children abus'd, their Houses plunder'd, and themselves Glenco'd. The ill usage many met with in Scotland, made them Jacobites contrary to their Inclinations, and fly into England, e'en to St. Germains it self, where they were kindly received and assisted by a distressed Prince, which gave them so deep a Tincture then, that it can't be wash'd off now.

Whether or no, in the late Government durst the disaffected Party assemble in Mobs, at Charing-Cross, with many of the King's Officers at their Heads, and amongst them, in Chairmen and Watermens Cloaths, and their Nobility, in Chocolate and Coffee-houses, inveighing against the King and Ministry, as some do at present, notwithstanding we have a gracious Queen, and a

good

*good Miniſtry, that have procured us a happy, and I hope a laſting Peace, and Thanks be to God, a Glorious and Unanimous Parliament, that appoints wholeſome Laws for the Preſervation of our Religion and Liberties.*

*But with profound Submiſſion, Clemency in many Circumſtances is a Crime, eſpecially in Princes, when the Quiet and Safety of their Government is concern'd. There are ſome that maintain Hereditary Right to ſuch a Degree, that nothing but their Grandfathers Fates will ſatisfy them. It was an old Saying amongſt the Cavaliers in* Scotland, *that* Whilſt there is a C—— *ll* or *D*—— *le* in Power, a *Stuart* will never be ſafe on the Throne; *and King* Charles II. *uſed to ſay, when he heard of any Diviſions, or Rebellions in* Scotland, He was ſure there was a C—— *ll* or *D*—— *le* at the Bottom on't. *When the dry Bones of a loyal* Grahame *rattled in their Coffin, and called for Juſtice, and a Reſurrection, it was full time for ſome to think on a Maiden, and that Rebellion was a mortal Sin.*

*'Tis ſurprizing, that neither Example, nor Experience can teach ſome reſtleſs Spirits their Duty, whoſe Deſires, like the Grave, are never to be ſatisfy'd, and their ambitious Minds exceed all Limits of Reaſon and Diſcretion. In reading theſe Memoirs, you'll*

*find*

*find all the paternal Care that could be used by Fathers and Kings, practis'd by King* Charles II. *and King* James II. *to reclaim the Presbyterians from their Rebellions. But the more Favours the Government heaped upon them, more stubborn and rebellious they were. King* Charles *gave them Churches of their own in several Shires in the Kingdom; and when they were not satisfied, connived at their Meetings in private Houses, till at last they kept their Conventicles amongst Rocks and Mountains, and preached Rebellion publickly, debauching the People from their Allegiance; and when* Clavers *received his Commission to march with his Horse and Dragoons to the Western Shires, to suppress them, it was always limited, and with a Caution from the Government, to use them mercifully, and that the neighbouring Gentlemen and Ministers should converse with them, give them their best Advice, and hear their Allegations. But nothing could prevail; all Admonition and Instruction to them was lost; for they turned from bad to worse. Several of them took Arms, and came privately in the Night to Ministers Houses, whom they plundered, and forced to swear they should never preach again, else they would murder him. They likewise plundered several Gentlemens Houses, whom they knew*

to

*to be for the Government, and murdered* Clavers's *Soldiers wherever they catch'd them. At this time His Grace the Duke of* York *was in* Scotland, *who was concerned to hear of the Commotions and Troubles in the West, and ordered that some Prisoners should be brought to* Edinburgh *to be examined. Accordingly there were three sent, who were found so ignorant and simple on their Examinations, that his Grace gave Orders to set them at Liberty, upon Condition that they should say,* God save the King; *which they positively deny'd; then his Highness ask'd if there was a* Bedlam *in the Country to put them in, and declared, that if they were hang'd, it was his Opinion, their Blood was on the Nation: Notwithstanding, according to their Sentence of Condemnation, they were brought to the Place of Execution, and his Grace being uneasy, sent the Lord* Roscommon, *with a Pardon to them, who came close to the Scaffold, and (one of them being hang'd) made a handsome Speech to the other two, offering them their Pardon, if they would say,* God save the King. *The next to be hang'd, was* John Potter, *who seem'd to be in a Doubt, and it was believ'd would have accepted of the Pardon, but his Wife took him by the Arm, and almost push'd him over the Ladder, and said,* Go die for the Good Old

Old Cauſe, my Dear, ſee ſuch a Man, (*meaning the hang'd Man*) will ſup this Night with Chriſt Jeſus: *So in fine, the other two were hang'd, but what was the Woman's Deſign in having her Husband hang'd, ſurprized many.*

*At this time, about thirty of thoſe deluded People left their Families and Buſineſs, and went to the Hills, where they liv'd in Rocks and Caves for ſome Weeks.* John Gib, *Sailor in* Borowſtowneſs, Walter Ker, *in* Trafritham, —— Gemmiſon, *in* Linlithgow, *were their chief Leaders: They called themſelves,* The Sweet-Singers of *Iſrael, eat nothing that there was Salt in, or paid Tax to the King, blotted the Name of King out of their Bibles, and cohabited all together. When a Party of Dragoons took them at the* Ouffins, *in* Tweed-dale, *they were all lying on their Faces, and jumped up in a Minute, and called out with an audible Voice,* That God Almighty would conſume the Party with Fire from Heaven, for troubling the People of God. *On the Road as they went to* Edinburgh, *when any of their Relations or Acquaintances came to viſit them, they ſpit at them, and threw themſelves on their Faces, and bellowed like Beaſts, whereof his Highneſs being informed, ordered them immediately to be ſet at Liberty.*

At

*At this Juncture of* Madneſs *in the* Weſt *of* Scotland, Clavers *receiv'd his Orders to ſuppreſs them, which he manag'd with ſo great* Prudence *and* Conduct, *that his Enemies both lov'd and fear'd him: His Friends applauded his Mercy and* Tenderneſs *to his Countrymen, many whereof, by his pathetick Advice and Inſtructions came over to the King's Party, and his Maſter amply rewarded his good Services, by conferring new Poſts of Honour and Profits every Day upon him, whoſe Heroick Actions demonſtrate his Love to his Country, and martial Spirit exceeds the Bounds of my Imagination to deſcribe; therefore I refer you to the Learned Dr.* Pitcairn's *Character of him in the following Epitaph.*

HIS

# Epitaph.

HIS

# Epitaph.

ULtime Scotorum, potuit, quo ſoſpite ſolo,
Libertas Patriæ ſalva fuiſſe tuæ:
Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia Cives,
Accepitque novos, Te moriente, Deos.
Illa nequit ſupereſſe Tibi, Tu non potes Illi,
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale:
Tuque vale, Gentis priſcæ Fortiſſime Ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, ac ultime Grame, vale.

FErgus *laſt Son, hadſt Thou alone but liv'd,*
*Our Liberty and our Country had ſurviv'd:*
*But oh! Thour't gone, and* Scotland *find this Odds,*
*A King that's new, new Subjects, and new Gods.*
*In Thee we liv'd, in Thee we dy'd together;*
Scotland's *vain Name, adieu, adieu for ever:*
*And fare Thou well, brave Prop of our old State,*
*Laſt* Scot, *laſt* Grahame, *and laſt of all was Great.*

# Epistola.

# MEMOIRS
## OF THE
# Lord Viſcount
# DUNDEE.

*EMOIRS*, like Pictures, are expos'd to a double Cenſure. Firſt from thoſe who diſlike the Principles of the Perſons repreſented, and upon that Account, have conceiv'd a Diſtaſte to all their Actions; and their Malice and Spleen riſes in proportion to the Merit they diſ-

like: Some will accuſe the Author of Flattery, and charge him with going beyond the Truth; others will cry he is a Party-man, and therefore not to be credited; and ſome Critical *Genii* will be offended at the Style for wanting Elegancy and the Embelliſhments of Rhetorick.

The other Cenſure is faſten'd upon him by the Ignorant, who have no Taſte of Loyalty, nor Senſe of Honour. If you tell them of loyal and heroick Actions, of enduring Hardſhips for their King and Country, they look upon you as one that has a Deſign of impoſing upon them, and your Hiſtory paſſeth with them for no better than Romance, and the meer Coinage of Mens Brains.

My *Memoirs* are deſigned for neither of theſe, tho' they both have the liberty to peruſe them, to grind their Teeth, chew them, and ſwallow them; and I wiſh they may give them a loyal Purge, and carry off all antimonarchical and factious Principles.

Two Sorts of Men are invited to read my *Memoirs*: The Firſt are all honeſt and loyal Subjects to the Queen, who will find them adapted to their Genius, and confirming their Allegiance to the Government.

The

The Other are thoſe worthy and honourable Gentlemen, who have loyal Principles in their Hearts, but are under the ſad Neceſſity of concealing them, by reaſon of their Dependence on ſome of the *Anti-Stuartan* Families, and Supplies from ignominious Coffee-Wenches, are therefore oblig'd to frequent ſome Aſſemblies, where nothing but Treaſons are hatch'd, and Invectives belch'd out againſt Her Majeſty and the Miniſtry. Theſe Gentlemen I deſire to read the following *Memoirs*, in which they'll learn their Duty to Her Majeſty, without whoſe immediate Benevolence, they can have no Means of ſubſiſting; and their Demeaneur to the Miniſtry, whoſe prudent Conduct has ſettled a Fund for their Support, and procur'd a glorious Peace, and will improve it into a compleat Bleſſing, by an open Trade, and Increaſe of Treaſure, if we'll allow them time for ſo great a Work, and in the mean while live quietly and peaceably amongſt our ſelves.

*John Grahame* of *Claver-houſe* in *Anguſ* in *Scotland*, deſcended from the honourable Family of *Morphy* in *Merns*, a Branch of the noble and loyal Family of *Montroſe*:

His Anceſtors were always eminent for Valour and Loyalty, and were never backward in ſhewing their Affection and Loyalty to the Royal Family, when either of theſe were needful.

This worthy Gentleman, with the happy Advantages of an hereditary Loyalty, and a liberal Education in *Humanity*, and the *Mathematicks*, in which he made a very conſiderable Progreſs, to qualify himſelf for the Service of his King and Country, travell'd into *France*, where he ſpent ſome time in the *French* Service as a Volunteer, with great Reputation and Applauſe. For his farther Improvement, he went from thence to *Holland*, where his early Inclination to Arms recommended him to the Prince of *Orange*, who made him Cornet of one of his own Troops of Guards, which Poſt ſoon gave him an Opportunity of ſhewing himſelf to the World. For at the Battle of St. *Nuff*, 1674, when the Prince of *Orange* was diſmounted, and in great Danger of being taken, he reſcued him, and brought him off upon his own Horſe. His Highneſs requited this brave Action, by making him Captain of one of his Troops of Guards. This, together with his other diſtinguiſhing Merits, recommended him

to

to the Favour of King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, and made him as univerſally fear'd as known by his Enemies. One of the *Scotch* Regiments in *Holland*, becoming vacant, his Intereſt with the Court of *England*, and the Prince of *Orange*'s Promiſes for Services perform'd, encouraged him to ſtand Candidate for the Regiment, which a *Dutch* Intereſt carry'd againſt him. He reſented this Affront ſo highly, as to leave the *Dutch* Service, and return to *Scotland* 1677, where King *Charles* II. rais'd a Regiment of Foot, and three independent Troops of Horſe, the firſt of which he gave to Captain *John Grahame* of *Claver-houſe*. About which time, thoſe turbulent People, the *Whigs*, began to keep their Conventicles in the Weſt of *Scotland*, and frequent them with Horſe and Arms, in an inſolent and open Defiance of the peaceable and tender Government, who were oblig'd to ſend *Clavers* with his own Troop and ſome others of Dragoons, to ſuppreſs their factious Meetings; which he endeavoured with all poſſible Prudence and Civility, but without Succeſs. He convers'd with ſome of their Miniſters and leading Men, and repreſented to them the Danger they expos'd themſelves to,

by disturbing so indulgent a Government; and at the same time advised them to make their Application to His Majesty, who would be sure to grant them their Requests as far as reasonable: But they were too obstinate to condescend to his Advice. He often imposed Fines and Mulcts on them, to frighten them into their Allegiance, but never exacted one Farthing: No Arguments of Religion or Reason, cou'd possibly prevail with them, but they still presumptuously advanced, and boldly increased their rebellious Meetings, and often opposed the King's Troops, when they gently endeavoured to disperse them; and at last grew so very impudent, as to hold their Meetings in the very Face and under the Nose of the King's Garisons.

The first Act of Rebellion they committed, was at *White-kirk hill*, in *East Lothian*, in View of the *Bass*. Near twelve Hundred of the *Whigs* assembled; and Mr. *Charles Maitland*, Governour of the *Bass*, went a-shore with twelve Men, and earnestly intreated them to disperse, and not to hold their Meetings in sight of the King's Garison, it being contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Nation. They immediately assaulted him and his Men,

kill'd

kill'd one, and wounded the reſt, himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. Yet the Government was ſo merciful, that only one *Learmont* a Pedlar was executed at *Edinburgh* for the Murder, tho' ſeveral others were known to be equally guilty.

The next Murder that blood-thirſty and wicked People committed (to the eternal Shame and Sorrow of their Country) was on the Body of Dr. *James Sharp* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Primate of *Scotland*, on the Third of *May*, 1679. His Grace returning Home in his Coach with his Daughter, about three Miles from St *Andrews*, was aſſaulted by nine Ruffians, who cut the Traces of the foremoſt Horſes, wounded the Poſtilion, and imperiouſly commanded the Archbiſhop to come out of his Coach, who immediately comply'd, and earneſtly implor'd the Liberty to ſay his Prayers. The Ruffians objected, he had frequently prevented their Prayers, and inſtantly three of them kill'd him, by giving him many Wounds in the Head and Body; and that the other ſix might be equally guilty in the execrable Action, they cut him, when dead, in ſeveral Parts of his Head and Body: They alſo maltreated

his Daughter, for dutifully offering to assist her Father.

The flagitious Villains were so steel'd in their Wickedness, that at *Drum-Clog*, and *Bothwell-bridge*, they publickly own'd the Murder, and wickedly glory'd in it. Only one of them, *Haxton* of *Rathellit*, was apprehended at *Airs-moss*, and hang'd at *Edinburgh*. The rest fled to *Holland*, that common Sanctuary of *British* Rebels and Murderers; and on the Prince of *Orange*'s Arrival in *England*, Dr. *Fleeming*, one of the Assassins, who came over with him, publickly appear'd every Day on the *Royal Exchange*, and practis'd Physick in *London* many Years, without ever being arraign'd for so inhuman and barbarous a Murder.

After this bloody Fact they kept their Meetings in great Numbers, and well arm'd, and were often too strong for the few regular Troops under the Command of *Clavers*. On the first of *June* 1678, three Thousand *Whigs* assembled at *Drum-Clog* in the Shire of *Air*, many of them well arm'd: Whereof *Clavers* being inform'd, march'd towards them with his own Troop, and forty Dragoons, and attack'd them in a Bog, where the *Whigs* behav'd themselves very desperately, kill'd

kill'd twenty ſeven of his Troopers and Dragoons, as alſo his Cornet, one of his one Name, and a Relation; and imagining him to be *Clavers*, they barbarouſly thruſt many Swords into his dead Body, and beat his Head into a Jelly.

*Clavers* very providentially eſcaped, by diſmounting one of his Trumpeters, when his own Horſe's Guts were cut out with a Sythe. The *Whigs*, that Night, at *Streven* in *Clidſdale*, murdered all their Priſoners, and *Clavers*, was oblig'd to retreat to *Glaſgow*, where my Lord *Roſs* lay with two Regiments of Foot, and there my Lord *Roſs* and *Clavers* barricado'd all the Lanes and Streets in the Town, where the next Day they were boldly, tho' diſorderly attack'd by four Thouſand *Whigs*, who with great Loſs were repuls'd out of *Glaſgow*; whence returning three Miles off, to *Shawhead Moor*, they were there join'd by others to the Number of ſixteen Thouſand Men.

Upon which my Lord *Roſs* and *Clavers* thought fit to retreat to *Striveling*, to join the reſt of the King's Forces there. Which Retreat, with the Succeſs the Rebels had in their Skirmiſh at *Drum-Clog*, encourag'd them to declare an open

Rebel-

Rebellion, and a Defiance of the King's Troops at *Bothwell-Bridge.*

On the Tenth of *June* 1679, *Clavers* with forty Horſe, and forty Dragoons, ſurpriz'd at *Bewly-Bog*, above three Hundred and fifty Rebels well arm'd, going to join their main Body near *Bothwell-Bridg*, kill'd ſeventy five, and took many Priſoners.

About this time, the Earl of *Linlithgow* was created Major General in the Place of Sir *George Monro*, and had gathered all the ſtanding Troops of the Nation together at *Falkirk*; where he was joyned by my Lord *Roſs*, and *Clavers*. His Army conſiſted of One Troop of Horſe Guards, Two Regiments of Foot, Three Independent Troops of Horſe, and Three Troops of Dragoons, with which he marched to *Glaſgow* to ſuppreſs the Rebels: But when he came to *Inchbelly* Bridge, near *Kylſith*, he received Orders from the Privy Council, to return back to *Edenburgh* with all the Kings Forces, which very much ſurpriz'd all the Officers of the Army, and more particular *Clavers*, who offered, with a Thouſand Horſe and Foot, to diſperſe the Rebels, or never to return himſelf alive. But the Earl of *Linlithgow*'s Orders from the

the Privy Council were so positive and binding, that he durst not hazard it, but returned back to *Edinburgh*: which so encouraged the Rebellious *Whigs*, that they flock'd together in Shoals, and form'd a Camp in *Bothwel* Moor, about Six Miles towards the *East* of *Glasgow*, and Two Miles towards the *West* of *Hamilton*, where they encamp'd untill they were dispers'd by the King's Forces.

Neither was the King and Government idle, in this unlucky Juncture, for they rais'd all the Militia in the Kingdom, and call'd in two Regiments of Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Ogletborp*, and Major *Main*, then at Summer Quarters in the *North* of *England*, to their Assistance: Then all the Forces march'd from *Edinburgh* on *Monday*, and on *Tuesday* to *Kirk-hill* Park, which is about nine Miles, and the next Day to *Moor-Head*. On *Tuesday*, His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* came to *Edinburgh*, and on *Thursday* he joyn'd the Army, and on *Saturday* at Night, or rather *Sunday* Morning, being the 22d of *June*, 1679. His Grace marched with his Army to *Bothwel* Bridge, where twelve Thousand Rebels were encamp'd. The Duke, by his Majesty's Special Commission, offer'd them every

Third

Third Church in the Kingdom, with many other Privileges, providing they would lay down their Arms, and return home to their reſpective Dwellings, and live quietly under the Government.

The obſtinate Rebels refus'd all the Royal Mercies propos'd them, ſo that immediately a Party of Dragoons were order'd to advance near the Bridge, with two Pieces of Cannon, which beat down their Barricadoes on the middle of the Bridge. The King's Army march'd along the Bridge, and having fir'd four Field Pieces at the Rebels Horſe, they all fled, and left their Foot at the Mercy of the Duke and his Army. There were about fifteen Hundred Priſoners taken, and they own'd there was a greater Number kill'd on the Spot. *Drum-Clog*, and the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* Murder, were ſufficiently reveng'd that Day; and if *Clavers* and *Oglethorp* had been left to their own Diſcretion, they had put an End to that rebellious Crowd, and purg'd the Nation of much ſuperfluous and corrupted Blood.

After the Defeat the Rebels receiv'd at *Bothwell-Bridge*, according to their innate Principles, they ſtill continued rebellious in the Weſt of *Scotland*, which oblig'd

oblig'd the Government to ſend *Clavers* to *Galloway*, with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to ſuppreſs their rebellious Aſſemblies, who acted with ſo much Diſcretion and Prudence, ſometimes threatning them with the Rigour of the Law, at other times uſing them with unexpected and undeſerved Clemency, that in a great meaſure he gain'd the Affections of both the Gentry and Commons of that Country. He was not covetous; for tho' he fin d them according to Law, he always forgave them, on condition they would go to Church, ſubmit themſelves to the Government, and live peaceably at Home. But his Dragoons were the only Medicines to be apply'd to their Diſtempers, and made them more tractable than all the Advice he could give them: For,

On the Seventeenth of *July*, 1680, about three Hundred *Banditti* of the *Whigs*, gathered together near *Airs-moſs*, in the Shire of *Air*; *Earls Hall*, *Clavers*'s Lieutenant, having receiv'd Information, march'd immediately with eighty Horſe and Dragoons to diſperſe them; who, as ſoon as the King's Troops appeared, retreated to the Moſs, fought it deſperately, and kill'd ſeventeen of the

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King's Troops; but at last were defeated, and many of them killed. The famous Minister *Camron*, and his Brother were both killed; and *Haxton* of *Bathellit*, one of the Murderers of the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, was taken. This was the last actual Rebellion they committed in K. *Charles* II's Time, tho' they had many private Meetings which *Clavers* suppress'd with so much Prudence and Tenderness, that the good Character he receiv'd from his Enemies as well as Friends, oblig'd King *Charles* to create him a Privy-Counsellor; and it was observ'd, that in all his Undertakings he was as successful as bold; for tho my Lord *Aberdeen*'s Learning and Politicks recommended him to King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, yet *Clavers* turn'd him out of Favour and was a great Instrument of the Earl of *Perth*'s Advancement.

At a Circuit Court at *Dumfreis*, some Mistakes happened between *Queensberry* and *Clavers*, which oblig'd *Clavers* to leave the Circuit, and in one Day, when the Ground was covered with Snow, he rode from *Dumfreis* to *Edinburgh*, which is above sixty long Miles, the next Day he took Journey for *London*, and was there when King *Charles* dy'd, and at King *James*'s Accession to the Crown, he join-

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ing with *Perth* and *Melford*, they turned *Queensberry* out of Favour.

About this time the *Whigs* began to renew their Rebellions in *Galloway*, where they murdered the Minister of *Creforn* in his Bed, and coming afterwards to *Kirkenbright*, kill'd a poor Man there who was one of the Sentries on the *Tollbooth*, only for challenging them, *Who comes there?* About six Miles from *Kirkenbright*, *Clavers*, with some Horse and Dragoons, attack'd that Party of Rebels that murdered the Minister, chaced them into a Bog, kill'd seven or eight of them, and took some Prisoners, who told him the Murderer of the Minister lay dead on the Spot.

This is all I can observe transacted between *Clavers* and the Rebels in King *Charles* the Second's Time, except some barbarous Murders committed by the Rebels on *Clavers*'s Soldiers, whereof there are now living many Eye-Witnesses, both in *England* and *Scotland*,

*William Cunningham* and *Andrew Cleveland*, two Dragoons going out of *Cumlock*, in the Shire of *Air*, were set upon by seven Country Fellows out of a Wood; *Cunningham* was murdered, and at the intercession of some Gentlewomen, *Cleveland* was sav'd.

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*Oliphant* and his Comarade, two Dragoons quarter'd in the Pariſh of *New-Milns* in the Shire of *Air*, were both murdered by the *Whigs* on a *Sunday* Morning, as they went to their Conventicle; A glorious Work before Prayers!

*Irwin*, a Dragoon, was kill'd between *Douglas* and *Lanrick*, by a Man and a Woman who went along the Road with him, untill they came to a Paſs; the Man threw him off his Horſe, and the Woman kill'd him with his own Sword.

*Fleſher*, a Trooper, coming home to his Troop in *Clyds-dale*, was murdered by ſix *Whigs*, thrown in a River, and found ſix Weeks afterwards.

Two Troopers, who went out of the Gariſon of *Blahan*, in the Shire of *Air*, in the Evening, to walk, were both ſhot from the Wood by the *Whigs*.

A ſingle Dragoon coming into a Publick Houſe to ask the way to *Blahan*, a Woman ſpinning on her Diſtaff, told him ſhe would ſhew him, and inſtead thereof, immediately call'd ſix or ſeven Men, and murdered the Dragoon.

At *Entricken* Hill, ſome *Whigs*, hid in Buſhes, ſhot two of a Party of *Dundee*'s Horſe as they paſs'd that way.

At *Swine Abbey* in *Linlithgow* Shire, *James Carmichall*, Laird of *Little Blackburn*, with a Party of about 50 *Whigs*, murdered Captain *Duncan Stuart*, and Captain *Thomas Kennuay*, both Gentlemen in the King's Horſe Guards; and when ſeveral of the Murderers were taken, the Government was ſo merciful, as to offer them their Lives, if they would but acknowledge, that it was a Murder, tho' they did not confeſs themſelves to be the Murderers; and moreover ſay, *God ſave the King*, which they obſtinately choſe rather to be hang'd, than ſay. So if ever that Party be in Power, we ſee what Monarchy and Epiſcopacy may expect. This *James Carmichall* of *Little Blackburn*, ſome Years after he was married, got two Women with Child, and when they told him of their Misfortunes, he appointed them ſeparately to meet him at a private place, where he murdered them both, and threw them into a Coal-Pit. Some Weeks afterwards he fell ſick, and confeſs'd the Murder both of the Captains and the Women, and gave his Confeſſion in Writing under his Hand. Afterwards he recovered, and liv'd many Years in King *William*'s Reign without

ever being queſtion'd for the Murders, becauſe he was a holy Brother.

At *Bella Path* near *Cumlock* in the Shire of *Air*, the *Whigs* took one *Houſtou* a Priſoner, from a ſmall Party of Horſe, commanded by Mr. *James Affleck*, and kill'd three of his Party. And to foment our Rebellions in *Scotland*, much about the time theſe Murders were committed,

*Argyle* ſail'd from *Ulye* in *Holland* on the Second of *May* 1685, with three Ships, one of 30, one of 12, and one of 6 Guns, and twenty Boats. On the Fifth of *May* he appear'd before the Iſles of *Orkney*, and ſent his Steward, Mr. *Spence*, and his Surgeon aſhore, who were both apprehended by the Inhabitants, and ſent Priſoners to the Privy Council at *Edinburgh*. *Argyle* not finding that Encouragement in the *Orkney* and other Iſlands, and in the *North* of *Scotland*, he expected, ſail'd to the *Weſtern* Parts of that Kingdom, and landed at *Dunſtaffnage* Caſtle in *Lorn*, where he left a ſtrong Gariſon, and march'd further into the Country, and there he publiſhed his rebellious Declarations and Manifeſto's, which no Man took Notice of but his own Friends and Followers. Afterwards he marched into *Cintire* with three Troops of Horſe, and about eight

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Hundred Foot, and from thence to *Tarbot*, where he was joyned by two Hundred *Ely* Men: His Ships and Boats came round, and were attending his Orders in the Offing of *Cintire*: There he went aboard, and ſail'd to the Iſle of *Boot*; where he himſelf landed, and marched to *Rothſey* in the Iſle of *Boot*; and finding no Encouragement, returned to his Ships, and ſail'd to *Cowel* in *Argyle* Shire, deſigning to bring in his Ships to *Lochfin*: But hearing of two of the King's Men of War, *viz.* the *Kings-fiſher* and the *Falcon*, coming about in ſearch of his Ships, he fortify'd a ſmall Caſtle call'd *Allengreg*, and an adjacent Rock, in which he put his Arms, Ammunition and Artillery, and left one Hundred and fifty Men to defend the Caſtle and Ships, and then marched to the Head of *Lochfin*.

On the 11th of *June*, the Marqueſs of *Athol* having three Hundred of the King's Troops under his Command, engaged about four Hundred Foot, and one Hundred Horſe of *Argyle*'s Rebels, kill'd many of them, and put them to the Rout, which obliged *Argyle* to make a Counter-March to *Allengreg* Caſtle, where he ſtay'd till the 15th of *June*: Then he March'd with about ſix Thouſand Men

to *Lenox* in *Dumbarton* Shire, and thence to *Kellern*, within four Miles of *Dumbarton*, where my Lord *Dumbarton*, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops, was within three Miles of *Argyle*'s Army: And *Argyle* seeing *Dumbarton*'s Army so numerous and well marshalled, at Night made Fires over all his Camp, and by the light of them, decamp'd and dispers'd all his People to their respective Habitations; and never any of them appear'd in a Body again, except about an Hundred and fifty, Commanded by Sir *John Cochran*, posted within Stone Walls at *Moordyke*, where they were attack'd by my Lord *Ross*, who commanded an Hundred Horse and Dragoons: In the Attack, my Lord *Ross* lost Captain *Cleveland*, and six or seven Dragoons, but killed many of the Rebels, and put them to a total Rout; and this was all the Loss that *Scotland* suffer'd by *Argyle*'s Invasion. His Lordship was taken by a private Trooper in the Water of *Inchinnin*, brought Prisoner to *Glasgow*, and from thence to *Edinburgh*, by a Party of the King's Horse Guards, and the *Midlothian* Gentlemen. They made his Lordship come out of his Coach at the *Water-gate*, and with a Halter about his Neck,

Neck, led by the Hangman, walk up the *Cannongate*, *High-town*, and into the Caſtle; and on the 1ſt of *June*, his Lordſhip was Beheaded at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*.

All this time my Lord *Dundee* was on the Borders of *Scotland*, with ſome Troops of Horſe to prevent all Inſurrections, and Communications between *Monmouth* and *Argyle*, and there was nothing more worthy our Obſervation tranſacted in *Scotland*, during King *James*'s Reign, till the Revolution, when the *Scots* Troops march'd into *England*: But after the Diſſolution of King *James*'s Army on *Saliſbury* Plain, he returned back to *Scotland*, where the Convention of Eſtates ſate at *Edinburgh*.

*Nov.* 9th, 1688. The *Whigs* in the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, without any Commiſſion or Order, came in Herds to *Edinburgh*, to guard the Convention; and not being unprovided of their eſſential Qualities, Malice and Revenge; no Man that had ſerv'd in King *Charles* the 2d or King *James*'s Reigns, was ſafe in the Streets. Theſe Things, with ſome other Proceedings of the Convention, and private Deſigns againſt my Lord Viſcount *Dundee*, oblig'd his Lordſhip to leave the Con-

vention and City of *Edinburgh*: He took about thirty Horſe with him, and went down *Leithwind*, and along the Way, called the *Lang-gate*. He halted his Party over againſt the Caſtle near the *Weſt Kirk*, and went by himſelf up to the Caſtle Wall, where he had half an Hour's Conference with his Grace the Duke of *Gordon*, and afterwards returned to his Party, and that Night went to *Linlithgow*. What Diſcourſe his Grace the Duke of *Gordon*, and *Dundee* had together, is not known to many; but 'tis evident from the Conſequences of *Dundee*'s Affairs in the *Highlands*, that if his Grace had left the Government of the Caſtle to his Lieutenant Covernour *Windrom*, and gone to the *Highlands* with my Lord *Dundee*, and there raiſed his Clans, it wou'd have tended more to King *James*'s Intereſt. But Men of great Eſtates don't like to run great Hazards.

*Dundee* went to *Linlithgow* the firſt Night, after he left *Edinburgh*; and the next Day he paſs'd *Striveling* Bridge, and went to his own Houſe at *Diddup*, near *Dundee*, where he ſtay'd ſome Days. Afterwards he was purſu'd by General *Mackay* with fifteen Troops of Horſe, through *Perthſhire*, *Anguis*, *Aberdeenſhire*, *Buchan*, *Bamff*

*Bamff*, *Murray*, and *Nern*; and on the firſt of *May* 1689, *Dundee*, with 150 Horſe, join'd *Mackdonald* of *Keappoch*, who lay before *Inverneſs* with 900 Men, forcing them to perform their Allegiance to King *James*, who, eight Days before my Lord's Arrival, had proclaimed the Prince of *Orange*, King; and for ſome other unneighbourly Practices of the Town of *Inverneſs*, and the *Mackintoſhes*, againſt *Keappoch*'s People, when he and his Brother were in *Ireland* with King *James*. But Family Quarrels being no Part of my Hiſtory, I decline them.

The Town of *Inverneſs* gave *Keappoch* 2000 Dollars to be gone: *Dundee* mildly compoſed all their Diſputes, and ſhewed himſelf ſo generous a Peace-maker, that he gave his Bond for the Money. Afterwards *Dundee* ſent friendly for *Mackintoſh*, to reconcile him and *Keappoch* together, who deny'd coming to his Lordſhip, tho' they were Relations. Upon which, *Dundee* ordered *Keappoch* to drive away *Mackintoſh*'s Cattle, ſome of which were kept for the Service of the Army, and the reſt were ſent to *Keappoch*'s Tenants. Then *Dundee* march'd to *Keappoch*, and ſtay'd ſix Weeks; and from thence, privately, with 150 Horſe, to

*Perth*, where early in the Morning he took the Lairds of *Blair* and *Pog* Priſoners, 30 Horſes, and 9000 Marks of the King's Ceſs and Exciſe. Then he march'd to *Dundee*, where the Citizens ſhut the Gates, and deny'd him Entrance. From thence he went to his own Houſe, *Diddup*, two Miles from *Dundee*, and tarry'd two Nights with his Lady. He returned to *Keappoch*, where he remain'd ſix Weeks; and from thence marched with 1500 Foot, and 200 Horſe, to *Badinock*, againſt General *Mackay*, and the Laird of *Grant*, who had about 6000 Men, and chaſed them Day and Night till they paſt *Strabogy*, where he encamped three Days at *Edinglaſſy*. On the fourth Day he received Intelligence, that Sir *John Lanier*'s Regiment of Horſe, a Regiment of Dragoons, *Ramſay*'s Regiment, and other two Regiments of Foot, had joined General *Mackay*, which obliged him to retreat to *Keappoch*, where he remained ſix Weeks, till he was joined by the Honourable Sir *Donald of the Iſles*, with 500 Men, who by reaſon of an Indiſpoſition, was oblig'd to return home, but left his Son young Sir *Donald*, with my Lord *Dundee*. Then his Lordſhip appointed all the Clans, with their Friends and Followers, to meet him

him at the *Blair* of *Athol* the next *Tueſday*, and that himſelf, the Honourable Sir *Alexander Mackdonald* of *Glengary*, Sir *John Mackiane*, young Sir *Donald of the Iſles*, the Captain of *Clan Ranald* and Sir *Hugh Camron* of *Lacheil*, would go and raiſe the *Badinock* and *Athol* Men againſt that Day; but his Lordſhip marching to *Dalnamin*, on the Braes of *Athol*, on *Tueſday* Night, hearing that General *Mackay* was come to *Perth*, which oblig'd his Lordſhip to haſten his March to the *Blair* of *Athol*, where he arriv'd on *Saturday* the 13th of *June*, 1689, at twelve a Clock. In the Afternoon his Lordſhip's Spies returned, and told him, that General *Mackay* with his Army, conſiſting of nine Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, were marching thro' the Paſs of *Gillicrankie*; on hearing that Intelligence, my Lord *Dundee* immediately march'd his Army, conſiſting of 1800 Foot and 45 Horſe, to the Hills on the *North* ſide of the Water *Tumble*, where General *Mackay's* Army appeared to be marſhalled in one Line, and three Men in a File, in a young buſhy Wood, having a Plain befor them, and a Plain at the Foot of the little Hills behind them, near the River *Tumble*.

The Clans earneſtly intreated *Dundee* not to engage in Perſon, and told his

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Lordſhip their method of Fighting was quite different from that of regular Troops; again deſired him to conſider, that if he ſhould be kill'd, King *James*'s Intereſt would be loſt in *Scotland*: But no Argument could diſſwade him from engaging at the Head of his Troops. General *Mackay*'s Army out-winged *Dundee*'s near a quarter of a Mile, which obliged the Clans to leave large Intervals between each Clan, and by declining towards the Wings, they wanted Troops to charge the Center, where a Detachment of *Leſly* and *Haſtings Engliſh* Regiments were. The *Highlanders* threw away their Plads, Haverſacks, and all other Utenſils, and marched reſolutely and deliberately in their Shirts and Doublets, with their Fuſils, Swords, Targets, and Piſtols ready, down the Hill on the Enemy, and receiv'd *Mackay*'s third Fire, before they pierced his Line, in which many of the *Highland* Army fell, particularly the Lord Viſcount *Dundee*, their General; the Terror of the *Whigs*, the Supporter of King *James*, and the Glory of his Country. Then the *Highlanders* fir'd, threw down their Fuſils, ruſhed in upon the Enemy, with Sword, Target and Piſtol, who did not maintain their Ground

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two minutes after the *Highlanders* were amongſt them; and I dare be bold to ſay, there were ſcarce ever ſuch Strokes given in *Europe*, as were given that Day by the *Highlanders*. Many of General *Mackay*'s Officers and Soldiers were cut down thro' the Skull and Neck, to the very Breaſts; others had Skulls cut off above their Ears like Night Caps; ſome Soldiers had both their Bodies and croſs Belts cut thro' at one Blow; Pikes and Small Swords were cut like Willows; and whoever doubts of this, may conſult the Witneſſes of the Tragedy.

The Detachments of *Haſtings* and *Leſly*'s Regiments, maintained their Ground till it was Night, becauſe *Dundee* wanted Troops to charge them, and as they marched through the Paſs of *Gillicranky*, they were ſo furiouſly attack'd by the *Athol* Men on the Front, and by the *Highlanders* that had been in the Battle, on the Rear, that every Man of them were either taken Priſoners or killed.

In the Battle the *Highlanders*, beſides their unparallel'd General *Dundee*, loſt the brave *Pitcur*, who like a moving Caſtle in the Shape of a Man, threw Fire and Sword on all ſides againſt his Enemy. Colonel *Gilbert Ramſey*, *Mackdonald* of *Largo*,

*Largo*, his Tutor and all his Familly; *Glengary*'s Brother, and many of his Relations; and five Couſin Germans of Sir *Donald of the Iſles*, with many private *Highlanders*.

General *Mackay* loſt his Brother Colonel *Mackay*, Colonel *Balfour*, with about 2000 Officers and Soldiers, and was beat quite out of the Field, himſelf very narrowly eſcaping with about twenty Horſe.

The firſt Officer that left his Poſt, in *Mackay*'s Army, was the Lord *Leven*: The Gliſtering and Claſhing of the *Highland* Mens Swords and Targets, ſcar'd his Horſe ſo much, that he run ſix Miles before he cou'd draw Bridle, which the brave *Pittarthy* can witneſs. No doubt, if Her Majeſty had been rightly inform'd of his Care of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where there was not ten Barrels of Powder, when the Pretender was on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, and of his courteous Behaviours to the Ladies; particularly, how he whipp'd the Lady *Morton-Hall*, but ſhe wou'd have made him General for Life.

After the Battel, *Dundee*'s and *Pitcur*'s Corps were intomb'd in the Church of the *Blair* of *Athol*; and the next Day Major General *Cannin*, who commanded the *High-*

*Highlanders*, march'd to *Dunkeld*, where he stay'd two Days to refresh his Troops, and was join'd by the Steward of *Appin*, the *Mackgregors*, and the whole County of *Athol*. From thence he march'd to the Braes of *Mar*, where the *Fergusons*, *Keappoch*, young *Lacheil*, *Frazers*, *Gordons* of *Stradown*, *Glenlevet*, and two Hundred *Mackfarsins* join'd him. Then he march'd to *Kildrummy*, where they were join'd with three Hundred Horse; and thence marching to the Castle of *Achndown*, he received Intelligence, that General *Mackay* with his Army, was six Miles from them, at the Castle of *Strabogy*.

At the Castle of *Achndown*, Major General *Cannin* received Orders from King *James* in *Ireland*, to march to *Argyle* Shire and *Cintire*. His Majesty knowing well the innate rebellious Spirit of those Shires, thought it expedient to suppress them first. A Council of War was call'd at *Achndown* Castle, where it was argu'd, whether the Low-Country Officers should sit in that Council of War. The *Highlanders* were of Opinion they should not, because they had no Troops under their immediate Command; and they neither knew their Method of Discipline, nor way of fighting. Major General *Cannin*,

*nin*, with the noble Earl of *Dumferling*'s Intereſt, carry'd it againſt the Clans, that the Low-Country Officers ſhould ſit in the Council of War, where the Diſputes and Controverſies amongſt them, contributed very much to the Detriment of King *James*'s Intereſt in the *Highlands*.

The Clans were for fighting General *Mackay* immediately, and placing Gariſons in the Caſtle of *Strabogy*, *Gordon* Caſtle, *Elgin*, *Ferres*, *Nern*, and *Inverneſs*; and afterwards to march through *Lochabar* into *Argyleſhire* and *Cintire*. But it was carry'd againſt the Clans, that the Army ſhould march, without fighting General *Mackay*, through *Aberdeenſhire*, and over the *Carna-mount*; over the Hills of *Mern* and *Anguis*, till they came to *Dunkeld*, where my Lord *Anguis*'s Regiment lay in Gariſon, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Clieland*; and though that Regiment had the Advantage of Walls, Hedges, Ditches, Houſes, and the like, the *Highlanders* beat them from their advanced Poſts, out of the Town, where they were well covered, and from the Town into the Marqueſs of *Athol*'s Houſe, which is a very ſtrong Gariſon, where they kill'd the Lieutenant Colonel and Major, and many other Officers and Soldiers.

diers. The *Highlanders* ſuffered a very inconſiderable Loſs.

Major General *Cannin* march'd with his Army from *Dunkeld*, to the *Blair* of *Athol*, where he ſtay'd ſix Days. That Winter Major General *Buchan*, the Lord *Seaforth*, Colonel *Brown*, and ſome other Officers, came from King *James* in *Ireland*, to Sir *Donald of the Iſles*; and *Buchan*, by his Commiſſion, being eldeſt Major General, commanded the Army, and deſired each Clan to give him 100 Men, promiſing with them to raiſe the Low Countries. The Clans gave him 1500 Men, with whom he march'd from *Keappoch* to *Kilwhinnin*, at the end of *Lochneſs*; thence over *Strathſpey*, and ſtay'd on the North Side of the River ten Days. From thence he march'd to *Culmakill*, where he call'd a Council of War to determine his next Day's March; and it was unanimouſly agreed, that they ſhould march the next Day to the Woods of *Glenlochy*; But Major General *Buchan* march'd down the River of *Spey* to *Crumbdale*, though all the Clans poſitively proteſted againſt that March.

On *May* 1ſt, Major General *Buchan* had about 1500 Men at *Crumbdale*, lodg'd in Villages round the Country, and his Advanc'd

vanc'd Guards advantageously posted, when the want of Intelligence, and the Negligence of two Captains, *Brody* and *Grant*, each of them commanding 100 Men at the Church, on the River *Spey*, suffer'd Sir *Thomas Livingston*, with Seventeen Troops of Dragoons, 900 of *Grant*'s Men, and Three Regiments of Foot to pass the River and Church, without any opposition, who fell upon *Buchan* and his *Highlanders*, sleeping in their Tents and Houses, and kill'd several of them, but to their Expence; for the *Highlanders* fought in their Shirts with Swords and Targets, and kill'd so many of the Dragoons and their Horses, that Sir *Thomas* never attempted any Pursuit.

Afterwards, as is usual with the *Highlanders*, having been Six Weeks from their Families, and wanting Provision, they return'd home to their respective Habitations; and when they heard General *Mackay* was marching *North*, with an Army of 20 Battalions and Squadrons, to put a Garison in *Innerlochy*, they drew to a Body, but had not Force sufficient to engage *Mackay*. Therefore it was agreed, that Major General *Buchan* should march to *Aberdeenshire*, where he met with the Master of *Forbes*, and Colonel *Jackson*, at

at the Head of a conſiderable Body of Horſe, who appeared at firſt, as if they deſign'd to give General *Buchan* Battel; but his Maſterſhip underſtanding the word of Command, *Wheel*, better than *Advance*, turn'd the Battel into a Race, and won; for he was firſt at *Aberdeen*, and allarm'd the Town with a frightful Outcry, *The Enemy, The Enemy's coming*. Then all their Engineers and skillful Men were call'd to Man their Walls, plant Guns, Pattareroes, and other warlike Engines upon them, though Major General *Buchan* never deſign'd to attack them.

At the ſame time Major General *Cannin* march'd from *Lochabar* to *Perthſhire*; and from thence to the Caſtle of *Aberfoyle*, where he attack'd the Lord *Cardroſs*'s Dragoons, kill'd ſeveral, and chas'd the reſt to the Park of *Striveling*. He alſo burn'd the Lands of *Cammes-More*, and *Edinchip*; and afterwards Major General *Buchan*, and Major General *Cannin* join'd in one Body, with about 500 Horſe, all Gentlemen in the County of *Lenox*, and march'd North, firſt to *Lochabar*, afterwards to *Badinoch*, and in a few Days they diſpers'd. Major General *Buchan* and his Officers went to the

Honourable Sir *Alex. Macdonald* of *Glengary* and General *Cannin* and his Officers went to the Honourable Sir *Donald Mackdonald of the Isles*, where they ſtay'd about nine Months, till the Earl of *Broadalbin* came with a Commiſſion from K. *William*, to treat with the Clans, by offering them 20000 *l.* to own his Government, and live peaceably. But His Majeſty knew not, that the Loyalty and Honour of the *Scots Highlanders* was not to be overcome by Force, or debauch'd by Treaſure. For they generouſly ſcorn'd the Offer as baſe, and unworthy of noble Thoughts; and only deſired the Liberty to ſend two of their Officers to *France*, to acquaint King *James* with the State of their Affairs, and when they received his Orders, they would act accordingly. This Favour, with ſome Difficulty was granted. Then General *Buchan*, General *Cannin*, and the Clans, agreed to ſend Sir *George Barclay*, and Major *Minzies* to *France*, to inform His Majeſty of His Affairs in the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, and of the dreadful Miſeries and Extremities his Clans ſuffer'd and were reduc'd to, and humbly deſir'd to know His Royal Will and Pleaſure. His Majeſty with Grief and Concern received their Commiſſion, and graciouſly thank'd

thank'd the Clans for their Loyalty, and told the Commissioners, that if ever it pleas'd God to restore Him, He would not be unmindful of their Loyalty who, in past Ages, had been always faithful to his Ancestors; and that if it pleas'd God to call for Him, He had a Son, the young Prince, who he doubted not, by God's Grace, if he liv'd, would be in a Condition fully to reward their Fidelity.

Then his Majesty gave them his Orders, that the Clans should make the best Articles they could for themselves, and live peaceably and quietly under the Government, as establish'd in His Kingdoms; and that Major General *Buchan*, and Major General *Cannin*, and their Officers should agree with the Government to be transported to him at St. *Germains*. When the two Officers returned from King *James* to the *Highlands*, the Major Generals *Buchan* and *Cannin*, and the Clans had a Treaty with the Government at *Achalander* in *Glaworchy* in *Striveling* Shire, which with great Joy and Readiness receiv'd the Clans, and made many fair Promises, that they should enjoy their Liberties and Properties as formerly, and should be defended against all their Enemies; but the

inhumane Maſſacre of Glenco is a memorable, and will be an everlaſting Teſtimony how thoſe fair Promiſes were perform'd.

The two Major Generals, *Buchan* and *Cannin*, capitulated for themſelves and their Officers, with the Government, and were allow'd two Ships to tranſport them to *France*.

'Tis evident as Demonſtration it ſelf, from an exact Survey of the Clans Loyalty, Courage and Conduct in the *Highlands*, that nothing but King *James*'s ſpecial Command could have put a Period to his Affairs in that Country. They! whom no *Roman* Bravery nor Policy, tho' fluſh'd with Victory and Succeſs, where ever they came, could conquer; but were forc'd to build Walls, and draw Lines, for ſome forty Miles in length, to defend themſelves from their Deſcents and Incurſions; can we pretend to conquer ſo bold and martial a People?

A People! whom neither the *Britiſh* nor *Pictiſh* Force, jointly nor ſeparately, was able to ſubdue: Nay the conquering *Saxons*, who over-run the *South* Parts of our Iſland, and march'd *Northerly*, with confirm'd Reſolutions of reducing the Whole under their Subjection, ſoon found them-

themſelves in a Miſtake, and their Career ſtopp'd by the ancient *Scotch Highlanders*.

Do not *Daniſh* Hiſtories in red Letters, deplore the Loſs of fifteen Thouſand Men, who landed in the *Frith* of *Murray*, and were entirely cut off by the *Highlanders*: And if we deſcend to modern Times, we can readily bring to our Memories, the ſix remarkable Battels gain'd by the Great *Montroſe* with his *Highlanders*, againſt the Rebels, who were regular Troops, and always four times his Number; and all *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, not only confeſs, but applaud the Gallantry of King *Charles* II's *Highland* Army at *Worceſter*, who ſhew'd ſo much Reſolution and Bravery, againſt ten times their Number, that even their Enemies regretted their Misfortunes, and the King himſelf ordered them to retreat from their Poſts; and God be thanked the loyal Blood of their Anceſtors ſtill freely runs in their Childrens Veins, and they are always ready to ſhed the laſt Drop in Her Sacred Majeſty's Service and Defence.

# THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE of *Edinburgh*.

THE *Camronians* who guarded the Convention of Eſtates at *Edinburgh*, being equally unhappy in their Tempers, as in their Principles of Religion, maltreated every Perſon that had ſerv'd in King *Charles* II's, or King *James*'s Reigns, and threatened often to pull his Grace, the Duke of *Gordon*, out of the Caſtle, fired on his Sentries, and committed many inſufferable Abuſes both in City and Country, which oblig'd his Grace to cut the wooden Bridge over the Moat without the Caſtle, where he ordered a ſingle Plank to be laid over, which could be remov'd at pleaſure, to draw up the Draw-Bridge, and to poſt Guards and Sentries round the Caſtle, which his Enemies were pleas'd to ſay was done to the beſt Advantage.

On

On the 11th of *November*, 1688, at Night, thirty three *Highlanders* came into the Caſtle, and forty four Soldiers, who refuſed to ſerve under his Grace's Command, went out, who, at the low Guard, were ſtripp'd of their Soldier's Cloaths, by Sergeant *Tod*. The next Day the Convention ſent the Marqueſs of *Tweeddale* to capitulate with his Grace, with a Propoſal of a Year's Pay to every Soldier, upon the Surrender of the Caſtle, who courteouſly begg'd the Marqueſs to excuſe him to the Convention, and to acquaint them, *That It was inconſiſtent with his Honour to give up the Caſtle without his Maſter, King* James's *Orders*. The Marqueſs returned with this Anſwer to the Convention, who immediately ordered my Lord *Leven* and the *Camronians* to beſiege the Caſtle. The firſt Work thoſe experienced Officers and Soldiers undertook, was to draw a Trench from the *Weſt Port* to the *Weſt Kirk*, which was perform'd with ſo great Ignorance, that if his Grace had not been merciful, and a Lover of his Countrymen, he might have kill'd the moſt part of them, and done great Miſchief to the City of *Edinburgh*. After the Lord *Leven* and his *Camronians* had thrown away ſome Weeks in the Siege, Sir *John*

*Lancer* undertook it with equal Succeſs: Then General *Mackay*, the ungrateful General *Douglas*, and Captain *Brown*, came with ſome Mortars and Bombs from *England*, and they raiſed a Battery at the *Mouter-houſe Hill*, another at the *Caſtle of Collups*, and another at *Heriot's Work*, behind which Captain *Brown* had a Bomb Battery. The Battery at the *Caſtle of Collups* made a Breach in the Wall near the Back Gate, but the Steepneſs of the Hill made it impracticable. The other two Batteries were of no uſe, and very much betrayed their Excellencies Ignorance in beſieging of Towns. The next thing they ordered, was to carry Wooll-Packs to the Caſtle-Hill, and lay them near the Blew Stone; but the Caſtle fir'd ſo hotly upon them with great and ſmall Shot, that they were forced to deſiſt from that Enterprize. Then they drained the *North-Loch*, thinking that would dry up the Well in the Caſtle; nor did that ſucceed; for the Caſtle Well had always two Fathom of Water; and theſe were all the Schemes projected to take the Caſtle, which ſignify'd nothing; for the Caſtle was impregnable; and His Grace being of an affable and courteous Temper, and K. *James's* Intereſt ſo ſtrong in and about *Edin-*

*Edinburgh*, that the Garison never wanted good Intelligence, fresh Provisions, and other Necessaries, and all the Loss he sustain'd, was a Brewing of Ale, and one Sentinel, *Patrick Kelley*; whereas the Besiegers lost above 500 Men; so that the Ammunition being imbezzill'd by Capt. *Drummond*, Storekeeper, was the only Reason that oblig'd his Grace to give up the Castle, on the 13*th* of *June* 1689.

THE

# THE SIEGE OF THE BASS.

THE *Baſs* is a ſtrong Rock in the *Fryth* of *Forth*, ſtanding between *Fife* and *Eaſt Lothian*, within five Miles of *Dunbar*, in which there was a Gariſon of fifty Men, commanded by a Captain and his reſpective Officers, whereof *Charles Maitland* was Governour, 1688. and defended it ſtrenuouſly for his Maſter, King *James*, till 1690. Then having ſmall Hopes of King *James*'s Reſtoration, wanting Proviſions, Ammunition, and other Neceſ-

Neceſſaries, was forced to give it up to the Government, who made Mr. *Fleſher* of *Salton*, Governour; he having four of King *James*'s Officers Priſoners, they boldly ſurprized the Gariſon, and ſent all the Soldiers aſhore, which being reported in the Country, where there were many loyal Families, they were ſupply'd with Men, Proviſions, and Ammunition. Intelligence thereof being carry'd to *France* to King *James*, there was a Ship ſent with all ſorts of Proviſions and Stores, and two Boats, one that carry'd two Pattareroes, twelve Muſquets, and row'd with twelve Oars, and another ſmaller Boat.

But afterwards their Proviſions falling ſhort, the Gariſon ſent the twelve-oar'd Boat by Night, to bring off ſome Sheep and other Neceſſaries, which they frequently received from their Friends; and the Government being informed thereof, ſent ſome Companies to Guard the Coaſt, who ſurprized ſeveral of the Gariſon, when they came aſhore, and thereby their Communication with the Land being ſtopp'd, they went out by Night in their Boats, and took ſeveral Ships; one laden with Salt, whence having taken what was convenient, She was ranſom'd from *Edinburgh*; a *Dutch* Dogger which they plunder'd

plunder'd and put off again, and a Ship laden with Wheat, which they thought to have carry'd to the *Baſs*; but the Wind proving contrary, drove them to the Coaſt of *Montroſe*, where ſhe run aſhore, and the Men getting ſafe to Land, diſperſed in the Country; and falling again ſhort of Proviſions, they went in their Boat to the Iſle of *May*, where they took ſeveral Sheep, and what Coals their Boat could carry. But the Government being enrag'd at their repeated Boldneſs, King *William* ordered the whole Revenue of the Kingdom to be expended on their Reduction, and on that Account ſent two Frigates, one of ſixty, and another of fifty Guns, who lay battering two Days, without doing any Damage to the Gariſon, tho' the Ships had ſeveral of their Men kill'd, and their Rigging and Sails cut and ſhatter'd, and their Ships ſo much damnify'd, that they coſt the Treaſury of *Scotland* about five Hundred Pound to repair them.

Afterwards there were two Ships appointed conſtantly to attend that Service, whereby the Gariſon was render'd uncapable of procuring any Proviſions by the uſe of the Boats; however, there came after ſome time, a ſmall Privateer from *Dunkirk*,

*Dunkirk*, laden with Rusk and other Neceſſaries: But the Gariſon became ſo weak of Men, that they had not Hands enough to hoiſt up the Rusk, but were oblig'd to borrow ten Sailors to aſſiſt them; and when they had got only ſeven Bags into the Gariſon, the largeſt of the two Ships bore down upon the Privateer, who was forced to cut her Cables, to prevent her being run down, ſo that the Gariſon was then in worſe Condition for holding out than before, having ten Sailors added to their number, and only ſeven Bags of Rusk, which could ſerve but a ſhort time; wherefore the Governour was oblig'd to put each Man of the Gariſon to the Allowance of two Ounces of raw Rusk Dough in twenty four Hours.

About that time, Mr. *Trotter* was taken, and condemn'd for aiding and aſſiſting the Place, and Captain *Alex. Hallyburton*, Capt. *William Frazer*, Mr. *William Witham*, and Mr. *William Nicolſon*, who belong'd to the Gariſon, were taken on ſhore, and condemn'd to be hang'd; and the Day of Mr. *Trotter*'s Execution being come, the Gibbet was erected at *Caſtletown*, and he being brought to the Place, a Gun was fir'd from the *Baſs*, amongſt the Crowd, which terrify'd them, and

oblig'd

oblig'd them to remove the Gibbet to a farther Diſtance, where he was hang'd. The reſt, who lay in Priſon at *Edinburgh* under Condemnation, were reprived from time to time, till ſet at Liberty by the Capitulation.

At laſt the Gariſon being reduced to five or ſix Days Proviſion, according to the abovementioned Allowance, put out a Flag of Truce; whereupon the Government ſending to know what they wanted, the Gariſon reply'd, that they would ſurrender upon Terms, and drew up their own Articles, upon which the Honourable Privy Council ſent two of their Number to the *Baſs*, to acquaint them, what Conditions they would grant. The Governour, who had ſaved ſome Bottles of the beſt *French* Wine, and Brandy, and ſome fine Bisket, made them drink plentifully, telling them there was no Scarcity of Proviſions, and unleſs he had his own Terms, he would not ſurrender, delivering at the ſame time his Articles to their Lordſhips, and after they were gone, he ordered all the Caputs, Coats and Hats in the Gariſon, to be put on the Muzzles of Muſquets, to make them believe the Place was full of Men; upon which their Lordſhips returned to the Council, and reported how

they

they were treated, and that the Garison, was in every respect well provided, which induced the Honourable Council to comply with the Governour's Articles, which were,

I. That the Garison should come ashore with their Swords about them, and there should be a Ship appointed by the Government with fresh Provisions to transport such of them as were willing to go to *Dunkirk*, or *Haverdugrass*; and that in a Month after the Surrender, those who pleas'd to stay at Home, might live without Disturbance.

II. That all they had taken, or what belonged to them after they surprized the Place, they should be allowed to dispose of to the best Advantage, together with their Boats, and all things pertaining to any of them.

III. That such of them as should incline to go abroad, might stay at *Edinburgh*, until the Ship was ready, without Molestation, and have so much a Day, according to their several Stations.

IV. That all who had belonged to the Garison, or had aided or assisted it, should have the Benefit of the Capitulation; and those who were dispersed over the Kingdom,

dom, ſhould have a Time to come in; and thoſe who were condemn'd, in Priſon, or otherways diſtreſs'd, ſhould be ſet at Liberty the ſame Day the Gariſon ſhould come aſhore, without any Fees, or other Charges whatſoever.

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Gallie-

# Gallienus Redivivus;

OR,

# Murder Will Out, &c.

Being a True Account of the

# DE-WITTING

OF

# *GLENCO.*

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*They gave out, that the Design of their Coming was to introduce* Liberty, *and depose* Tyrants: *But having gained the Power, They did so* Tyrannize *Themselves, that the Reign of Former Oppressors seemed a Golden Age, if compar'd with the* Arbitrariness *and* Exaction *of These pretended* DELIVERERS; *which made the* Sicilians *think them more happy who Expired in* Servitude, *than those who lived to see such a* DISMAL FREEDOM.

Plutarch. *Life of* Timoleon.

# *A LETTER from a Gentleman in* SCOTLAND, *to his Friend at* LONDON, *who desir'd a Particular Account of the Business of* GLENCO.

Edinburgh, *April* 20, 1692.

SIR,

THE Account you desir'd of that strange and surprizing Massacre of *Glenco*, take as follows.

*Mac-jan Mac-donald*, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch of the *Mackdonalds*, one of the greatest Clans, or Tribes, in the North of *Scotland*, came with the most considerable Men of his Clan to Colonel *Hill*, Governour of *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, some few Days before the expiring of the Time for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Proclamation, which, as I take it, was the first of *January* last in-

treating he would administer unto him the *Oaths* which the foresaid Proclamation requir'd to be taken; that so submitting himself to the Government, he might have its Protection. The Colonel received him with all Expressions of Kindness; nevertheless shifted the administring the *Oaths* to him; alledging, that by the Proclamation it did not belong to him, but to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of Burghs, to administer them. *Mac-jan* complaining that by this Disappointment he might be wrong'd, the Time being now near the expiring, and the Weather so extreme, and the Ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, *&c.* got from Colonel *Hill*, under his Hand, his Protection; and withal he was assur'd, that no Orders from the Government against him, should be put in Execution, until he first were advertis'd, and had time allow'd him to apply himself to King or Council for his own Safety. But the better to make all sure, (tho' this might have seem'd Security enough for that time) with all Dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the chief Town of *Argyleshire*, where he found Sir *Collin Campbell* of *Ardkinlis*, Sheriff of that Shire, and crav'd of him the

the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions requir'd. Sir *Collin* at firſt ſcrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the Time which the Proclamation did appoint, being elapſed by one Day, alledging it would be of no uſe to him then to take them: But *Mac-jan* repreſented that it was not his Fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have adminiſtred the Oaths to him, and that upon his Refuſal he had made ſuch Haſte to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the Extremity of the Weather hinder'd him; and even as it was, he was but one Day after the Time appointed; and that it would be very unbecoming the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, eſpecially when he had done his utmoſt to have come in time. Upon this, and his threatning to proteſt againſt the Sheriff for the Severity of this Uſage, he adminiſtred to him and his Attendants, the Oaths, *Mac-jan* depending upon the Indemnity granted to thoſe who ſhould take them; and having ſo done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably

under the Government, till the Day of his Death.

In *January* last, a Party of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Regiment came to that Country; the Design of their coming was then ſuſpected to be, to take Courſe with thoſe who ſhould ſtand out, and not ſubmit, and take the Oaths. The Gariſon of *Inverlochy* being thronged, and *Glenco* being commodious for Quartering, as being near that Gariſon, thoſe Soldiers were ſent thither to quarter; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Ceſs and Hearth-Money, (a Tax never known in *Scotland*, until laid on by the Parliament, 1690, after the Parliament of *England* had eas'd themſelves of it.) E er they entred *Glenco*, that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies? The Officers anſwer'd, as Friends; and gave their Parole of Honour, that they would do neither him, nor his Concerns any Harm; upon which he wellcomed them, promiſing them the beſt Entertainment the Place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confeſs. He and they lived together in mutual Kindneſs and Friendſhip fifteen Days, or thereabouts; ſo far was he from fearing

any

any Hurt from them. And the very last Day of his Life he spent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till Six or Seven at Night, and at their Parting mutual Protestations of Kindness were renewed. Some time that very Day, but whether before, or after their Parting, I know not, Captain *Campbell* had these Orders sent him from Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

Ballacholis, *Feb.* 12. 1692.

*SIR,*

*YOU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the* Mac-Donalds *of* Glenco, *and put all to the Sword under Seventy. You are to have especial Care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no Account escape your Hands. You are to secure all the Avenues, that no Man escape. This you are to put in Execution at Five a Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger Party; If I do not come to you at Five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on.* This is by the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, *for the Good and Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut*

*off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in Execution, without Feud or Favour, else you may expect to be treated, as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love your self. I subscribe these with my Hand,*

Robert Duncanson.

*For their Majesties Service, to Captain* Robert Campbell *of* Glenlyon.

*Duncanson* had received Orders from Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, which were as follows.

Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.

*SIR,*

PER *Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Collonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the Service commanded against the Rebels in* Glenco, *wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment under your Command are to be concern'd: you are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assign'd by you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely*

by

*by five a Clock to Morrow Morning, being* Saturday; *at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the* South *side, that the Old* Fox, *nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are that none be spar'd from* 70, *of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners. This is all until I see you. From*

*Your humble Servant.*

James Hamilton.

*Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there; and the Boats must be all on this side the Ferry, after your Men are over.*

*For their Majesties Service, for Major* Robert Duncanson *of the Earl of* Argyle's *Regiment.*

THE Soldiers being disposed five or three in a House, according to the Number of the Family they were to assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all receiv'd as Friends by those poor People, who intending

tending no Evil themſelves, little ſuſpected that their Gueſts were deſign'd to be their Murderers. At 5 a Clock in the Morning they began their bloody Work, Surpriz'd and Butcher'd thirty eight Perſons, who had kindly receiv'd them under their Roofs. *Mac-jan* himſelf was murder'd, and is much bemoan'd; he was a ſtately well favour'd Man, and of good Courage and Senſe: As alſo the Laird *Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Underſtanding, who had ſubmitted to the Government, and had Coll. *Hill*'s Protection in his Pocket, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without Horror repreſent how that a Boy about eight Years of Age was murder'd; he ſeeing what was done to others in the Houſe with him, in a terrible Fright run out of the Houſe, and eſpying Capt. *Campbell*, graſp'd him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life. I am informed Capt. *Campbell* inclined to ſpare him; but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarouſly run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The Rehearſal of ſeveral Particulars and Circumſtances of this Tragical Story, makes it appear moſt doleful; as

that

that *Mac-jan* was killed as he was drawin on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving Orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murder'd him; while he was speaking the Words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Ladies Arms, who through the Grief of this and other bad Usages she met with, died the next Day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People were killed when they were asleep, and none was allow'd to pray to *God* for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous; so as a Party of four Hundred Men, who should have come to the other End of the *Glen*, and begun the like Work there at the same Hour, (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was nine a-Clock, and this afforded to many an Opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose Houses *Campbell* and *Glenlyon*'s Men were Quartered, otherwise all the Male under seventy Years of Age, to the Number of two Hundred had been cut off, for that was the Order; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had

no

no Arms at that time; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the way: For tho' they relyed on the Promises which were made them for their Safety; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed I know not whether to impute it to difficulty in distinguishing the difference of a few Years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with *Blood*, stand at nothing, that even some above seventy Years of Age were destroy'd. They set all the Houses on Fire, drove off all the Cattle to the Garrison of *Inverlochy*, *viz.* 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided amongst the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the Case of the poor Women and Children was then! It was lamentable, past expression; their Husbands and Fathers, and near Relations were forced to flee for their Lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their Houses being burnt, and not one House nearer than six Miles; and to get thither they were to pass over Mountains, and Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greatest part of them perished thro' Hun-

Hunger and Cold. It fills me with Horror to think of poor ſtrip't Children and Women, ſome with Child, and ſome giving Suck, wreſtling againſt a Storm, in Mountains and Heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and dye miſerably.

You ſee in *Hamilton*'s Order to *Duncanſon*, there's a ſpecial Caution, *That the Old Fox nor none of his Cubs ſhould eſcape*; and in *Duncanſon*'s Order to Capt. *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, *That the Old Fox nor none of his Sons eſcape*: but notwithſtanding all this wicked Caution, it pleas'd God that the two young Gentlemen, *Mac-jan*'s Sons eſcaped. For it happened that the younger of theſe Gentlemen truſted little to the fair Promiſes of *Campbell*, and had a more watchful Eye over him than his Father or Brother, who ſuffered themſelves by his reiterated Oaths to be deluded into a Belief of his Integrity: He having a ſtrong Impreſſion on his Spirit, that ſome miſchievous *Deſign* was hidden under *Campbell*'s ſpecious *Pretences*, it made him, after the reſt were in Bed, remain in a retired Corner, where he had an advantageous Proſpect into their Guard. About Midnight perceiving ſeveral Soldiers to enter it, this encreaſed his Jealouſy; ſo he

went

went and communicated his Fears to his Brother, who could not for a long time be perſwaded there was any bad *Deſign* againſt them, and aſſerted, That what he had ſeen, was not a doubling their Guards in order to any ill Deſign, but that being in a ſtrange Place, and at a diſtance from the Gariſon, they were to ſend out Sentinels far from the *Guard*, and becauſe of the Extremity of the Weather relieved them often, and that the Men he ſaw could be no more than theſe. Yet he perſiſting to ſay, That they were not ſo ſecure, but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he had ſeen: He prevailed with his Brother to riſe, and go with him to his Father, who lay in a Room contiguous to that they were in. Though what the younger Son alledged made no great Impreſſion on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could diſcover. They well knowing all skulking places there, went and hid themſelves near to a Sentinel's Poſt, where inſtead of one, they diſcovered eight or ten Men; this made them more inquiſitive, ſo they crept as near as they could without being diſcovered, ſo near that they could hear one ſay to his Fellows, That *he liked not this Work, and that had he known*

*known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none, except their Commanders knew of it till within a quarter of an hour.* The Soldier added, That he was willing to fight against the Men of the *Glen*, but is was base to murder them. But to all this was answered, *All the blame be on such as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our Officers.* Upon hearing of these Words, the young Gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could towards the House to inform their Father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the People shrieking; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their Father, they preserved their own Lives in hopes yet to serve their King and Country, and see Justice done upon those Hell-Hounds, treacherous Murderers, the *Shame* of their Country, and *Disgrace* of Mankind.

I must not forget to tell you, That there were two of these Officers who had given their Parole of Honour to *Mac-jan*, who refused to be concerned in that *Brutal Tragedy*, for which they were sent Prisoners to *Glasgow*, where if they remain

not

not ſtill, I am ſure they were ſome Weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in obedience to your Commands, I have ſent you ſuch Account as I could get of that monſtrous and moſt inhuman Maſſacre of the Laird of *Glenco*, and others of his *Clan*. You deſire ſome Proofs of the truth of this Story; for you ſay there are many in *England* who cannot believe ſuch a thing could be done, and publick Juſtice not executed upon the Ruffians: For they take it for granted, that no ſuch Order could be given by the Government; and you ſay, they will never believe it without a downright Demonſtration. Sir, As to the Government, I will not meddle with it; or whether theſe Officers who murder'd *Glenco*, had ſuch Orders as they pretended from the Government; the Government knows that beſt, and how to vindicate their own Honour, and puniſh the Murderers who pretended their Authority, and ſtill ſtand upon it. But as to the Matter of Fact of the Murther of *Glenco*, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as ſtrange a thing in *Scotland* for any Man to doubt of it, as of the Death of my Lord *Dundee*, or with you that the Duke of *Monmouth*

*mouth* loſt his Head. But to put you out of all doubt, you will e'er long have my Lord *Argyle*'s Regiment with you in *London*, and there you may ſpeak with *Glenlyon* himſelf, with *Drummond* and the reſt of the Actors in that diſmal Tragedy: and on my Life, there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know it is notoriouſly known all over *Scotland*, and it is an Admiration to us, that there ſhould be any one in *England* who makes the leaſt doubt of it. Nay, *Glenlyon* is ſo far from denying it, that he brags of it, and juſtifies the Action publickly: He ſaid in the *Royal Coffee-Houſe* in *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again; nay, That he would ſtab any Man in *Scotland* or in *England*, without asking the Cauſe, if the King gave him Orders, and that it was every good Subject's Duty ſo to do; and I am credibly inform'd, that *Glenlyon* and the reſt of them have addreſs'd themſelves to the Council for a Reward for their good Service, in deſtroying *Glenco*, purſuant to their Orders.

There is enough of this mournful Subject; If what I have ſaid ſatisfy you not, you may have what farther

Proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

*Sir,*

*Your humble Servant*, &c.

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N. B. *That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was sent, did on* Thursday, June 30. 1692, *when the Lord* Argyle's *Regiment was quartered at* Brentford, *go thither, and had this Story of the Massacre of* Glenco *from the very Men who were the Actors in it:* Glenlyon *and* Drummond *were both there. The Highlander who told him the Story, expressing Guilt, which was visible in* Glenlyon, *said, Glenco* hangs about *Glenlyon* Night and Day, and you may see him in his Face. *I am told likewise, that Sir* John Lowther *refused to except the Place of Lord Advocate of* Scotland, *unless he might have liberty to prosecute* Glenlyon, *and the rest of the Murderers of* Glenco, *which not being granted,* James Stuart (*who was forfeited for Treason by K.* C. 2. *and since knighted by K.* W.) *has now the Place.*

Gallienus

# Gallienus Redivivus;

## OR,

## Murder Will Out, &c.

THE foregoing Account of the Barbarous *Massacre* of *Glenco*, was Printed in the Year 1692. in the *Answer* to Dr. *King*'s *Book* of the *State of the Protestants in* Ireland: And all the Reception it met with among many here in *England*, was, That it was a *Jacobite* Story, on purpose to reflect upon the Government, and that there was no such thing: But this is now confuted by the Proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland*, this Summer Session, 1695, wherein they have Voted the killing of the *Glenco-men* to be a Murder; and yet have acquitted Sir *Thomas Levingston* and Collonel *Hill*, who gave the Orders for killing of them. Why? Because their Orders were but pursuant to the *Instructions* they had from *Court*. Where will this lodge the Murther? The Design, it is well enough known, is to

put it upon Sir *John Dalrymple*, commonly call'd *Maiſter of Stair*, one of the Secretaries for *Scotland*, becauſe he is not ſo *Fiery a Presbyterian* as the other Secretary, *James Johnſton*, who hath it by *Inheritance* to love *Crown* and *Mitre* alike; and to have a juſt Reward for it. But *Dalrymple* is only a *Libertine*, or *Latitudinarian*, One of the modern *No-Religion*, who are *indifferent* to *All*, ſo they be *troubled* with *none*. Therefore he cares not whether *Epiſcopacy* or *Presbytery*, or what elſe is ſet up, provided the People be eaſy with it.

Now it being known to all the World, That the Pretence of the *Inclinations of the People of Scotland*, which was made the Ground-work for aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, and ſetting up *Presbytery* there, was a meer *Sham*, contriv'd by this *Johnſton*, and the Bigot *Presbyterian* Party in *Scotland*; who were all put in Power, in the beginning of this *Revolution*; and ſet on the *Barbarous Rabbling* of the *Epiſcopal Clergy* in the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, that they might Cry out, The *Inclinations of the People* were againſt *Epiſcopacy*: And having by theſe and other Arts (which are fully related in Print) *Pack'd*, and then *ſurpriz'd* the firſt *Convention*, or *meeting*

of

*of Estates*, to Abolish *Episcopacy*: They dare not have a new *Parliament* (a) (as in *England*) but keep on the same *Convention* (only changing the Name into that of a *Parliament*) to this Day: Because no *Free Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which would not the first Day, spue out *Presbytery*, and re-establish their much more belov'd *Episcopacy*. And the People shewing great uneasiness under their present Establishment (which hath been *trick'd* and *forc'd* upon them.) All the *Craft* and *Violence* of the *Regnant Presbytery*, assisted by *Acts of Parliament*, and all the Countenance of the *Government*, having not yet been able to Outouft the *Episcopal Clergy* in the *North*, and other Parts of *Scotland*, or prevail with the *People* to admit of, or almoft give Civil Treatment to the *Presbyterian Ministers* sent to them, tho' Establish'd by Law. The *Presbyterian* Interest standing there upon so slender a Bottom, their *Junto* think it not safe to have a Man of *Dalrymple*'s *Latitude* in *Religion*, in so eminent a Post, and near their King; lest he should follow the *Inclinations of the People*, in

(a) See *Querela Temporum*, p. 8 and 9.

Good Earneſt, and Call a New *Parliament* there, which would ruine all their Meaſures: Therefore ways and means muſt be uſed to remove him; and leave *Johnſton* and the *Presbyterian Faction* in the ſole Poſſeſſion of the *Court*. At length this of *Glenco* was pitch'd upon; which was ſo odious, they knew their *King* durſt not own it: Therefore they would throw it upon *Dalrymple*, who was Secretary, and attended when the *Inſtructions* were ſent for that *Bloody Murther*. And thereby too, They would ſeem to take of the *Odium* from their *King*; This was their Pretence; and they had Proof enough againſt *Dalrymple*: But how that clear'd his *Maſter* will be ſeen.

They produced *Nine* Letters of *Dalrymple's* (of which I have Copies) concerning the *Maſſacre of* Glenco. And I ſhall have occaſion to mention them hereafter; I will now ſet down their ſeveral *Dates* and *Directions*, and quote them, to ſave Repitition, only by their Number. Letter i. ii. iii. &c. The two firſt are directed to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, and bear Date, on the *1ſt.* and the other the *3d. Decemb* 1691. the four next are to Sir *Thomas Levingſton*, of theſe ſeveral Dates, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 16 of *January* 1692.

Then

Then follow two more to Colonel *Hill*, of the 16*th*. and 30*th*. of the same Month; and lastly, one of the 30*th*. Ditto, to Sir *Thomas Levingston*. It seems very strange that K. *W*. would suffer these Letters to be expos'd to the Parliament in *Scotland*, being most of them wrote by his Order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the Execution of Instructions, sent with them for the *Massacre of* Glenco. And the Regard which his *Dear Presbyterians*, and his Favourite *Johnston*, in particular, had to his Honour, was very slender, when, to compass their Ends, they load him so foully, that they might load *Dalrymple* too. *Johnston* says *No*, But that he *foreseeing* (because some say of his own *Contriving*) that the *Parliament*, who are most of them his *Creatures* (to their Honour be it spoken) would fall upon the Business of *Glenco*; and that they must be, at least *seemingly* gratified in it, otherwise, that it might obstruct the *Money-Bills*, did therefore advise his Master to send down a *Commission* to Men of his own chusing, to enquire into the Affair of *Glenco*; but withal to give secret Instructions to his *Commissioner*, to keep up the said *Commission*, unless the *Parliament* should enter upon that Business: And if they did, then

to produce the said *Commission*, to shew his Majesty's *Innocence*, by his *Care* to have it examin'd; and withal, it would take the Examination of it out of the Hands of the *Parliament Committees*, who might not manage so dextrously as those of his own naming.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary Orders given, it is vilely suspected, that *Johnston* procured the Matter to be started in *Parliament*, whereby, at once to get rid of his *Rival Secretary*, and Root up the Interest of any, who had but an Indifferency towards *Episcopacy*, at *Court*; tho' to the utter Shipwrack of his *Master's* Honour, to be Recorded for all *Posterities* (as if it were inseparable from some Constitutions to betray those they serve, even tho' they wish them well, and must stand and fall with them.) For considering the Influence *Johnston* had in that *Parliament*, and that they never yet oppos'd his Will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least Murmur or Hint, that look'd towards *Attack*, when the Fact was new committed, and the *Horror* of it fresh and bleeding; and now for three Years after it is fain, it is not supposed by Men capable to understand that Parliament, that it could have been

brought

brought upon the Stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the Hand of *Jeh* had not been in it; but let him look to that —— I have only to add, as a Completion of the foregoing *Narrative*, that I can from unquestionable Vouchers, give the Reader an Account of the Orders from Court to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Colonel *Hill*, which are not in the *Letter* that goes before; and when the Reader is told that *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncanson* is inserted) had his Order from *Levingston*, and *Hill*; then he has the whole Thread, *viz.* W. R's Order to *Levingston* and *Hill*; *Levingston* and *Hill* to *Hamilton*; *Hamilton* to *Duncanson*; and *Duncanson* to *Glenlyon*, who was the *Butcher*.

You find in the Gazettes, two Sets of *Instructions*, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th *Jan.* 1691-2. and I will give you an Account of them both. Those of the 11th did expresly Order FIRE and SWORD, [these were the Words] against all the *Highland-Clans*, who had not taken the *Oaths*. After they were sent away, my Lord *Carmarthen* (now *Leeds*) being told of it, by *Dalrymple* (as I am informed) did represent it to K. *W.* as a thing so unknown in these Countries, which

which are Governed by Laws, That *Fire* and *Sword* would sound very harshly; no such Words having ever been heard from any of our *Native* Kings. This procured the Mitigation of that Order by the *Instructions* of the 16th, which poured all the *Thunder* upon *Glenco*; because some *Sacrifice* must be made! What concern'd *Glenco* was in the 4th of these *Instructions*, and is as follows.

WILLIAM R.

*As for* MAC-JAN *of* GLENCO, *and that* TRIBE, *if they can be well distinguished from the Rest of the High-Landers; it will be proper for the Vindication of Publick Justice, to* EXTIRPATE *that Set of Thieves.*

W. R.

This was directed to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Colonel *Hill*. And the *Parliament* has Voted that *Levingston* or *Hill*'s Orders did not exceed these *Instructions*; nor indeed could they: For what can exceed EXTIRPATION! And that to be executed at the *Discretion of Soldiers!* As it is worded in the Secretary's Letter to Sir *Thomas Levingston*. (a) *I am confi-*

(a) *Letter V.*

*dent*

*dent* (says he) *you will see there are full Powers given you in very plain Terms, and yet the Method left very much to your own Discretion.*

Take Notice that the *Instructions* are Counter-sign'd W. *R.* at *Bottom* as well as *Top*, which is not usual: For it is the Secretary's Office to Counter sign the King's Orders; and the Reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the Secretary must be answerable. Therefore *Dalrymple* had reason to wave that Ceremony, in this Instance, and let his Master take all the Glory to himself. And lest this should not be sufficiently taken Notice of; and that he might have a Voucher, when time comes, he took care to inform Sir *Thomas Levingston* punctually of it, in the same Letter which enclosed the first most Bloody Instructions, of the 11th *Jan.* 1691-2. for an *Universal Massacre* of All who had not taken the Oaths. And begins in these Words: (c) *Sir, I send you the King's Instructions Super and subscrib'd by Himself*——And to shew how pleasing a thing *Mercy* was to them, and with what Reluctancy they prosecuted

(c) *Letter* V.

those

thoſe who had not taken the Oaths, he ſays in the ſame Letter; *Juſt now* Argyle *tells me, That* Glenco *hath not taken the Oaths, at which I* rejoyce. *It's a great Work of* Charity *to be exact in Rooting out that damnable Sect.* And to ſhew how great this *Charity* was, and whence it proceeded, The *Wiſe* Secretary blurrs out theſe Words; *I have no great Kindneſs for* Keappoch, *nor* Glenco, *and it's well theſe People are in Mercy.* Well indeed! They were in *merciful* Hands! Who can ſay they ought not to Die, for whom ſuch a Secretary hath no GREAT *Kindneſs!* But who are they muſt die? ALL! ALL! Man, Woman, and Child! Maſſacre the Men, and Drive the Women and Children to Periſh more cruelly in the Mountains. To which purpoſe, that extreme *Cold* Seaſon was choſen for the Execution. (d) *The Winter is the only Seaſon* (ſays the Secretary) *in which we are ſure the* Highlanders *cannot eſcape us, nor carry their Wives, Bairns, and* Cattle *to the Mountains.* (e) *It's the only time that they cannot eſcape you; for Human Conſtitution cannot endure to be long out of Houſes*——

(d) *Letter* i. (e) *Letter* ii.

*This*

*This is the proper Seaſon to maul them in the cold long Nights.* This was expreſs'd with the Guſto of a *Vulture*, in Expectation of a Glorious *Maſſacre!* And then how *eaſy* it would be! (f *I expect* (ſays he) *you will find little Reſiſtance but from the Seaſon.* And then what thorough Work they would make! (g) *To deſtroy entirely the Country of* Lochabar, Lochells, Lauds, Keappoch's Glengaries, Appin, *and* Glenco. Here was a plentiful Feaſt provided! It was a Raviſhing Proſpect!

But O how theſe *Lyons* were enraged when any of their deſired Prey was delivered out of their Jaws. It was in a mournful ſtrain the Secretary tells the ſad News. (h *We have an Account*, (ſays he) *that* Lochart, *and* Mac-naghton, Appin, *and* Glenco *took the Benefit of the Indemnity at* Inverary; *and* Keappoch, *and others at* Inverneſs. But after this, when *Argyle* told him that *Glenco* had not taken the *Oaths*; How did he rejoyce! as above quoted. (i) *I am glad* (ſays he) *that* Glenco *did not come within the time pre-*

(f) *Letter* iv. (g) *Letter* iii. (h) *Letter* iv. (i) *Letter* ix.

*ſcrib'd*

ſcrib'd. (k) *I am content that* CLAN *except it ſelf.* (l) *For my part, I could have wiſh'd the* Mac-donalds *had not divided,* that is, That they had all excluded themſelves from Mercy, *and I am ſorry that* Keappoch, *and* Mac-jan *of* Glenco *are ſafe.* But it ſeems they were not ſafe. Some muſt be made a *Sacrifice*; And *Glenco* was pitched upon for the *Victim.* And the implacable Fury which was ſhewn againſt that *Clan*, expreſſed the Rage they felt, that ſo many had eſcaped them. And therefore that *Clan* was to be deſtroyed entirely. (m *I aſſure you,* ſays the Secretary to his Officers, *your Power ſhall be full enough, and I hope the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Priſoners.* (n) *For a juſt Example of Vengeance, I intreat, that the Thieving Tribe in* Glenco *may be Rooted out in earneſt. I ſhall entreat you, that for a juſt Vengeance, and publick Example, the Thieving Tribe of* Glenco *may be Rooted out to purpoſe. The Earl of* Argyle *has promiſed they ſhall have no Retreat in his Bounds; the Paſſes to* Rannach *would be ſecured, and the Ha-*

(k) *Letter* i. (l) *Letter* iv. (m) *Letter* iii. (m) *Letter* vi. (n) *Letter* vii.

*zard*

*zard certified to the* Laird *of*---*to retreat: Then in that Case* Argyle's *Detachment, with a Party that may be posted in* Island Stalker, *must cut them off.* (o) *Pray when any thing concerning* Glenco *is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the Men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that Nest of Robbers who are fallen in the Mercy of the Law.* (p) *I am glad* Glenco *did not come in within the Time prescribed. I hope what is done there, may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a Condition to draw together to help. I think to herry their Cattle, or burn their Houses, is but to render them desperate lawless Men to rob their Neighbours: But I believe you will be satisfied it were great Advantage to the Nation, That that Thieving Tribe were rooted out, and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for* both *the Men and their Cattle.* Argyle's *Detachment lies in* Keappoch *well, to assist the Garison to do all* ON A SUDDEN. Was ever so greedy a Hunt after the Lives of a Company of *Secure* and *Unarm'd* People, who slept fearless, and suspecting

(o) *Letter* viii. (p) *Letter* ix.

no

no Danger, under the Protection of thoſe who were thus contriving to *Maſſacre* them, in the moſt *Savage* and *Treacherous* manner!

The *Secretary* tells Colonel *Hill*, that (o) *The Oaths are indiſpenſable.* This was a fearful Method of impoſing the Oaths upon theſe *Highlanders*, that none muſt live who would not take them! But were All admitted to take them? One would think ſo; when they were made *Indiſpenſable.* Yet notwithſtanding, in that ſame Letter he give theſe Directions to Colonel *Hill.* *Till we ſee what is done by the* CHIEFS, *it is not time to receive their Tenants, or* Admitting *them to take the Oaths or hoping for Pardon, till they give Evidence that they are willing to pay their Rents to you, and to take Tax for their former Duties; who will not do ſo, and were in the Rebellion, muſt feel the diſmal Conſequences of it.*

Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him a Blaſphemer! If the Tenants would betray the Rights of their Landlords to Attorn and pay the Rents to the *Secretary*,

(o) *Letter* viii.

no

or his *Governour*, then, and not otherwiſe, they ſhould be *Admitted* to take the *Oaths*. And yet they muſt not live, if they did not take the *Oaths*: But *Glenco* took the *Oaths*, yet that ſav'd not his *Life*, nor his *Clan*.

It were reaſonable here to preſume that K. *W.* did not know that they had taken the *Oaths*. *Firſt*, If it had been ſo. This manner of *Maſſacre* in *Cold Blood* had been a *Cruelty*, without a Precedent. *Secondly*, It was taking Advantage of the Time, with the greateſt Rigour. For the Time limited by the Indemnity, expired but the 1ſt of *January* 1691-2. And the Inſtructions for a General *Maſſacre* were dated the 11th of the ſame Month at *London*, which was hardly time enough to know whether they had taken the *Oaths* or not. But *Thirdly*, Here is no room left to ſurmiſe that K. *W.* did not know it; becauſe Secretary *Dalrymple*, in his Letter to Sir *Thomas Levingſton*, before quoted, which is dated at *London* the 9th of *January*, 1691-2, tells him (p) That they had an Account that *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths* at *Inverary*; which was the Place

(p) *Letter* iv.

where did he take them, as is told in the foregoing Narrative. And he tells Sir *Thomas*, in the ſame Letter; 'I have been 'with the King. He ſays your Inſtru-'ctions ſhall be diſpatch'd on Monday. And they were ſo. For that *Monday* was the 11th of *January* 1691-2, which Day the Inſtructions do bare Date. And this Letter of the *Secretary*'s was dated the 9th of *January*, 1691-2. which was the *Saturday* before. And then tells Sir *Thomas* That he had the Account of *Glenco*'s having taken the *Oaths* with ſeveral others; and that he had been with the King concerning it, and Inſtructions ſhould be ſent, &c. 'Tis true, his Letter of the 11th, which went with the Inſtructions, ſays, (q) That *Argyle* told him *Glenco* had not taken the *Oaths*. But this was no more than *Hearſay*, and it was not true. For *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths* before that time, according to the Account which the *Secretary* own'd was ſent to him; and *Argyle* was an Enemy to *Glenco*, as appears by what is above quoted out of the Letter 7. But this Saying of *Argyle* to the *Secretary* in *London*, could not be of *Argyle*'s own Knowledge. And one would

(q) *Letter* v.

think

think that the *Secretary of State* should have as good Intelligence as he.

But, to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a *Doubt*; and to suspend his further Resolution, till he might have the Certainty from *Scotland*; but they did not stay for this; for the particular Instructions to Massacre *Glenco*, bore Date the 16th of *January* 1691-2. Betwixt which time and the 11th, when *Argyle* told the *Secretary* as above, They could not send to *Scotland*, and have an Answer back. Now these Instructions of the 16th were no way Conditional; to cut off *Glenco* if he had not taken the *Oaths*; but Positive, and without more ado. When it is certain that K. *W.* must, at least, *Doubt* whether he had taken the *Oaths*, or not; but it is apparent that Colonel *Hill*, who had given *Glenco* his Protection, and to whom *Glenco* came to take the *Oaths*, I say it is certain that he, and the other Officers there upon the Place, knew very well that *Glenco* had taken the Oaths and submitted to the Government. Those Officers whom he receiv'd into his House, and quartered their Soldiers among his Tenants, upon his laying down his Arms; These must know that he had *Submitted*. But if notwithstanding they

muſt Obey their Orders (as they did) if it be not permitted to Officers, ſo much as *Reſcribere*, to acquaint the King with any Miſtake that may be in his Orders; but to execute them blindfold, and without asking Queſtions, then let me lie out of the reach of a Soldier.

The Reader muſt likewiſe know, that none of theſe foreſaid Inſtructions were Communicated to the Privy Council of *Scotland*; to whom by the Conſtitution of that Kingdom, and continual Cuſtom, all the King's Orders are directed. They knew nothing of this Matter, it was contriv'd to be carry'd in ſuch a manner, as not to be prevented. And when *Gallienus* his Thirſt of Blood is once ſatisfied, then let Slaves Grumble and make Inquiry! We know how to manage them. *Johnſton* hath undertaken it; Nay he hath done it. *Done it!* More effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, Imagin'd, in theſe Nations, before this Happy Revolution: For here is a Precedent made, and that by *P—t*, That the King may ſend his Guards, and cut any Man's Throat in the Nation in Cold Blood; Nay, he may Maſſacre the whole P—t, as they are there Sitting, by the Rule that they have given; that is, To acquit *Levingſton* and *Hill*; and

and to juſtify them for purſuing the King's Orders to Maſſacre a whole Clan, which is no more Juſt, or Law, than to Maſſacre a P——t.

Let us Banter the World, or our ſelves no more with Liberty and Laws! And when P——ts can be brought to Approve and Juſtify All this----Well! *Johnſton!* Thou haſt Manag'd Nobly. Thou art fit to Serve a Monarch! But not unleſs you bring your Monarch cleverly off in this Buſineſs; for what if you can place it upon *Dalrymple*; and if *Dalrymple* ſholud be Hang'd for daring to ſend ſuch an Order, tho' he refuſed to Counter-ſign it, What will become of *Him*, who both Sign'd it, and Counter-ſign'd it, and Commanded it to be *Sent*.

If the Man ſuch Praiſes have,
What muſt He Employs the K—?

Why! Did his Maſter never enquire into the Matter before? Never before the *Parliament* Clamour'd! And what was the Meaning of a Commiſſion to Examine into what himſelf had order'd—But *Mes James!*—And have you e'en brought your *Maſter* into this Nooſe! What can you expect from him, but to

be *Glen Co'd* for your pains? *Qui Glencoat, Glencoabitur*---You have brought all his Sins to Remembrance. The *Dewitting* in *Holland* was almost forgot---You have pretty good Experience of his Temper, or you may have. But if he suffer you to live to see another *Revolution*, you may plead *Merit*: For all his Enemies have not render'd him so *Black*; so effectually *Proved*, and *Demonstrated* it to the World, as your Management has done. *He is happy in his Ministers!* At least very justly serv'd by them!

He wants but a good *Historian*, that he may not lose his Character to after Ages. And *Secretary*, you cannot do better than to recommend your Uncle to that Office. He'll do it deliciously; he'll either find or make Parallels to him out of *Antient Histories* (for he'll find none among the *Modern*, especially in these *Countries*) and make him (I'll warrant you) excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present Case so exactly, that you would think one was Copied out from the other, and it is as follows.

'*Gallienus*, ut erat *Nequam & Perditus*; 'ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, *velox*, '*furibundus*, *ferus*, *vehemens*, *Crudelis*---

In

'In omnes *Mesiacos* tam *Milites* quam *Cives* asperrime seviit: Nec quemquam 'suæ Crudelitatis exortem reliquit: Usque adeo *Asper* & *Truculentus* ut pleraſq; 'Civitates vacuas a virili sexu reliquerit.

'Extat sane Epistola *Gallieni* quam ad 'Celerem *Verianum* Scripsit, qua ejus Nimietas crudelitatis ostenditur: Quam 'Ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem Luxuriosum crudelissimum esse si necessitas postulet.

GALLIENUS VERIANO. *Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum* Armatos *trucideris, quos & sors Belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est* omnis sexus Virilis, si & Senes *atq;* Impuberes *sine Reprehensione nostra Occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunq; malevoluit. Occidendus est quicunq; maledixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot Principum Patrem & Fratrem, Ingenuus factus est Imperator.* Lacera, Occide, Concide: *Animum meum intelligere potes, mea Mente irascere qui hæc Manu mea scripsi.* Trebell. Pollion. *Trigint. Tyran. de Ingenuo.*

This is the Decription of *Gallienus*, a *Cruel*, and a *Bloody Tyrant*: And here is the Copy of some Instructions he sent to *Verianus*, an Officer of his, about just such another *Massacre* as *Glenco*, which he

Wrote, or *Sign'd* with his own Hand; Wherein he commands him, to put all to the Sword, All that durſt *Speak* or *Think* againſt him, as well *Old* as *Young*; He bid him *Plunder*, *Kill*, *Tear*; and that it would not pleaſe him if he Kill'd only thoſe in *Arms* againſt him, but All of the *Maſculine* Sex.

Here was a great deal of Do, and many Words about it! But our milder Order bid only EXTIRPATE, and that not this or that Body, or making Diſtinctions of *Old* or *Young*, *Men or Women*——What need all that Cookery! But only *The Whole TRIBE: That was all!* He ſcorn'd to *except* the pitiful *Women*, as *Gallienus* did. What need *They* be *Excepted?* Why! He excepted no Body! Short Work's beſt—and few Words—And as the *Anſwer* to *Great Britain's Juſt Complaint*, Publiſh'd by Authority, 1692. Says, p. 37. in Vindication of *W. R.* as to this of *Glencoe*. *A milder Order was never given.* And he ſays that his Majeſty *has Expreſs'd a High Diſpleaſure at it.* It was *High* indeed; for we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can ſee: For all the Officers who *Commanded*, or who *Executed* it, are ſtill in their reſpective Poſts, unleſs advanc'd. Nor have we heard

heard that ſo much as an *ill Word* has been ſaid by Him to any one of them.

But this we know, by that *Anſwer* to *Great Britain's Juſt Complaint*, that *W. R.* cannot plead Ignorance, that there was a great Clamour about the Maſſacre of *Glenco*, *Three Years ago*: And that He has taken no Notice of it all this time; nor *Now*, till it was firſt ſtarted in *Parliament*; And that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the Hands of the *Parliament*, and by all his Might and Main, to Stifle, or at leaſt to Baffle it. And that it has been Baffled. And this horrible Addition is thereby made to the Guilt of that *Murder*; That whereas none were anſwerable for it before, except only *Gallienus* and his *Verianuſes*, with their Accomplices, it is now become a *National* Guilt (ſo far as the Parliament are the Repreſentatives of the People) by the Parliament's making *Gallienus's* Inſtructions ſufficient to juſtify *Verianus* in his Execution of them. Whereby they juſtify the whole *Murder*, and bring it upon their own *Heads*, and upon the *Heads* of their *Children*. For if *Gallienus* had no Power by *Law*, to ſend ſuch *Inſtructions*, they could be no *Juſtification* to *Verianus*: But now *That Parliament* has

has Voted that such *Instructions* are a *Justification* of *Verianus*; and therefore they have yielded that *Gallienus* has, by *Law*, a Power to send such *Instructions*; and that they ought to be *obey'd*. And then, *Lord have Mercy upon us!*

But to bring our Story to an End; there is one Noble Stroke of Secretary *Johnston*'s behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his Master clean, from all Imputation of the Massacre of *Glenco*; and that is, He has perswaded Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncanson* is in the foresaid Narrative) to *Abscond* for some time; and then to slip over to K. *W.* in *Flanders*; which he has done. This shews as if he were more guilty than the rest. He is made the *Scape-goat*, and all this Sin laid upon his Head. But if *Hill* gave his Orders to his Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (which he avers in his Order to *Duncanson*) Why was it more Criminal in *Hamilton* to hand down his Colonel's Orders to the next Subaltern?

And why must *Glenlyon*, and the others who actually committed that horrid *Massacre*, and are now in their respective Commands in *Flanders*, Why should these be Excused?

O!

O! No! They are not excused, for as in the Gazette 18th *July* 1695, the Parliament in *Scotland* has made a fierce *Vote* against them, *viz. That his Majesty be Addres's'd to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, Or Not? As his Majesty shall think fit,* —OR NOT! This is as Civil as Heart could wish! And whether this *Address* was sent, *or Not*; whether it was trusted to Secretary *Johnston* to send it, *or Not*, is all One; for instead of sending them Home to be Tryed, *Hamilton* is sent to them: And in Justice we are to suppose that due Care will be taken, That in this Campaign, They shall either be Killed, Taken, or Desert. And then if we had them again, How we would Hang the Rogues.

AN

AN

# ACCOUNT

OF

# DUNDEE's OFFICERS,

## After they went to *France*.

ALL Hopes of Serving King *James* in the *Highlands* of *Scotland* being loft, His Officers, in Obedience to his Commands, Capitulated with the Government at *Edinburgh*, to be fent to *France*, which accordingly was perform'd, and on their Landing, they were fent to *Liſle*, *Burburgh*, *Arras*, and other Towns in the *French Flanders*, where they were ſubſiſted according to the different Commiſſions and Characters they bore in *Scotland*; and notwithſtanding the King of *France*'s Misfortunes at *La Hogue* and *Chirburgh*, where his Fleet was burnt,

He

He ſtill generouſly continued them on the ſame Footing as before, until *Sept.* 1692. The Officers conſidering, that by the Loſs of the *French* Fleet, King *James*'s Reſtoration would be retarded for ſome time, and that they were burdenſome to the King of *France*, being entertain'd in Gariſons on whole Pay, without doing Duty, when he had almoſt all *Europe* in Confederacy againſt him; therefore humbly entreated King *James* to have them reduced to a Company of private Sentinels, and chuſe Officers amongſt themſelves to Command them; aſſuring His Majeſty, that they would Serve in the meaneſt Circumſtances, and undergo the greateſt Hardſhips and Fatigues that Reaſon could imagine, or Misfortunes inflict, until it pleas'd God to reſtore Him. King *James* commended their Generoſity and Loyalty, but diſapprov'd of what they propos'd, and told them, it was impoſſible that Gentlemen who had ſerv'd in ſo honourable Poſts as formerly they enjoy'd, and liv'd in ſo great Plenty and Eaſe, could ever undergo the Fatigue and Hardſhips of Private Sentinels Duty. Again, that his own firſt Command was a Company of Officers, whereof ſeveral dy'd, others wearied with the Fatigue,

drew

drew their Discharges, till at last it dwindled into nothing, and He got no Reputation by the Command; therefore he desired them to insist no more on that Project. The Officers (notwithstanding His Majesty's desire to the contrary) made several Interests at Court, and harrass'd Him so much, that at last He condescended, and appointed Col. *Thomas Brown*, Captain; Col. *Alexander Gordon*, and Col. *Andrew Scot*, Lieutenants, and Major *James Buchan*, Ensign, to the Company of Officers. I'm heartily sorry those Gentlemen have given me no Opportunity of speaking well of them. It was their ill Conduct, particularly *Brown*'s Avarice, that ruin'd the Company; for they got a Command which they never expected, and knew as little how to use, as they deserv'd it. The Noble Earl of *Dumferling*, a Gentleman whose Loyalty, like his Honour, admitted no Rival, was propos'd by the Officers to Command: But King *James* being unwilling to want so good Counsel, and the Court of *St. Germains* never being without Parasites, made his Lordship decline the Post, to the great Detriment of the Gentlemen, and King *James*'s Interest. Now a Rout is ordered by the Court of *Versailles*, and brought

to

to *St Germains*, and about Seventy of the Officers, under the Command of Col. *Brown*, Col. *Gordon*, and Major *Buchan*, being review'd in the Garden, He made a Speech to them after this manner.

## *King* James's *Speech to the* Scots *Officers in the Garden of* St. Germains.

*Gentlemen,*

*MY own Misfortunes are not so nigh my Heart as Yours; it grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many Brave and Worthy Gentlemen, who had once the Prospect of being the Chief Officers in my Army, reduced to the Stations of private Sentinels. Nothing but your Loyalty, and that of a few of my Subjects in* Britain, *who are forced from their Allegiance by the Prince of* Orange, *and who, I know, will be ready on all Occasions, to serve me and my distressed Family, could make me willing to live. The Sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your Loyalty, hath made so deep an Impression in my Heart, that if ever it please God to restore Me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your Services and Sufferings. Neither can there be any Posts in the Armies of my Dominions, but what you*

*have*

*have just Pretentions to. As for my Son, your Prince, He is of your own Blood, a Child capable of any Impressions, and as his Education will be from you, It is not supposable that He can forget your Merits.*

*At your own Desires you are now going a long March, far distant from me; I have taken Care to provide you with Money, Shoes, Stockings and other Necessaries. Fear God, and love one another: Write your Wants particularly to me, and depend upon't always to find me your Parent and King.*

Having thus ended His most Gracious Speech, His Majesty ask'd every particular Officer his Name, and writ it down in his Pocket-Book; then made them a Bow, with his Hat in his Hand, pray'd God to bless and prosper them, and so left them.

About a Month after, Colonel *Brown* went from *St. Germains*, Colonel *Scot* with about fifty Officers under his Command, who had receiv'd the like Compliment from King *James* in the Garden of *St. Germains*, and march'd after him. The Distance from *St. Germains* to *Perpignan* in *Roussilion*, where the Rout ended, is about nine Hundred Miles.

The

The civil Deportment and generous Tempers of the Officers, as well as their Characters and Misfortunes, ingaged all the Conſuls, leading Men, and others, in the Towns and Villages they paſs'd thro', to love, reſpect, and billet them on the richeſt People in the Place; and every Morning before they march'd, uſually the young Ladies in the Town were walking on the Parade to ſee them; for they always gain'd the Favours of their Landladies and their Daughters.

There was nothing remarkable in the Routs to *Catalonia*, but that two Leagues from *Monpelier*, near the River *Rhoan*, four of Col. *Scot*'s Officers, wading a Rivulet, which had been ſwell'd by Rains, from the Mountains, were violently carry'd down; but catching hold of ſome Buſhes, they kept their Heads above Water: And tho' there were Hundreds of the Country People on both ſides of the Rivulet looking on, they never offer'd their Aſſiſtance, only waiting when they ſhould be drown'd, to get their Cloaths and Money; ſuch is the Barbarity of theſe mixt *Catalonian-French*. At laſt ſome of their Comarades came with Ropes and help'd them out.

At *Revoſaltes*, within two Leagues of *Perpignan*, one of the Officers was quartered on a Farmer. He deſired his Supper, and to ſee his Bed, as is uſual for Soldiers in *France*. His Landlord, Landlady, and Servants fell upon him, beat him unmercifully, and threaten'd to murder him if he made any Noiſe. The next Day, when they came to *Perpignan*, Col. *Scot* made a Complaint to *Shaſeron*, Lieutenant General and Governour of *Rouſſilion*, who immediately ſent his *Aid-de-Camp* to the Gentleman affronted, to beg his Pardon, in the King of *France*'s Name, for the barbarous Uſage he met with, and aſſured him he ſhould have all imaginable Satisfaction: Two Days afterwards, all the Furniture in the Farmer's Houſe was carried to the Market-Place and burnt, and himſelf burnt in the Hand and baniſh'd *France*; which ſhews what Reſpect the King and Court of *France* bear to the Officers of the Army.

When Colonel *Scot* with his Officers came to *Perpignan*, they drew up in a Rank before Lieutenant General *Shaſeron*'s Houſe, where all the Ladies of Quality in the Town, aſſembled, and wept bitterly to ſee ſo many worthy Gentlemen, for their Loyalty and Honour, reduced to the

the unhappy Station of private Sentinels; and it was boldly asserted by several Citizens, that the Gentlewomen made a Purse of 200 Pistols for the Officers, who never heard any thing of the Matter. Colonel *Scot* march'd from *Perpignan* to *Canet*, on the Mediterranean, and join'd Colonel *Brown*, who lay there with his Officers; then the Company was formed, and the Officers received their Arms and Cloaths, and were most industrious in practising the Exercise of that Country; which with their modest Behaviour, and Patience under their Sufferings, recommended them so much to the Officers of the *French* Army, that they shewed them more Respect than actually belong'd to their former Commissions, and were often pleased to declare, that a Detachment from all the Officers in *France*, could not parallel that Company. About this time the Gentlement had spent all their Money; and Three-pence a Day, with one Pound and an Half of Bread, which is *French* Pay, was too little to support Men of their Quality, who formerly had lived in so great Plenty and Affluence. Therefore they were forc'd, in Regard to the Honour of their Country, and the Commis-

ſions they formerly bore, and for the Neceſſaries and Supplies their preſent ill Circumſtances requir'd, to ſell, at *Perpignan*, their ſcarlet Cloaths, lac'd and embroider'd Waſtecoats, Holland Shirts, Watches and Rings, ſo that in very few Weeks, no Officer in the *French* Army, nor Burgeſs in the City, of any Diſtinction, was in Eſteem, if he wanted an *Engliſh* Watch in his Fob, or a Suit of ſcarlet Cloaths. The Ladies bought their Rings; and when their Money fell ſhort, the Officers were ſo generous as to exchange them for Hair Ones. This Market continu'd from *November* 1692, to the firſt of *May* 1693, when they went to Camp. All that time no Gentlemen on Earth lived more agreeably and delightfully than they. The Wine was good and cheap, and their Merchandiſe procur'd them Money and Miſtreſſes. About the Middle of *March* Major *Rutherford*'s Company, and Captain *John Foſter*'s Veteran Troops of *Dumbarton*'s Regiment, join'd the Company of Officers at *Canet*, where nothing but loyal Healths and honourable Schemes were drank and projected for the King's Reſtoration, and Preparations made for the enſuing Campaign.

The

The three Companies, before they march'd to Camp, were ordered to be review'd before *Mareſchal de Noailles* and his Court at *Perpignan*, in their Soldiers Cloaths; and that Morning before they march'd from *Canet*, it was both wanton and melancholy to ſee the Company of Officers, ſo many loyal and worthy Gentlemen their Half-Picks turned into Firelocks, and their Husks and Saſhes into Cartouch Boxes and Haverſacks: As for Knapſacks they wanted none; for the Linnen Market of *Perpignan* had eaſed them of that Trouble. When the three Companies were reviewed by *Mareſchal de Noailles* and His Court, his Excellency deſir'd the Company of Officers to march a ſecond time by him, and was ſo well pleaſed with their Appearance, that he preſented them with a Mule to carry their Tents that coſt him fifty Piſtols. At this Review the Miquelet Officers, and the Burgeſſes of *Perpignan* attended the *Mareſchal*, and made a very handſome Appearance in the Cloaths and Linnen they had bought from the Officers, who modeſtly ſmiling ſaid one to another, *See what a Parade theſe Cuckolds make in our old Cloaths.* Tat Night the three Companies returned to *Canet*, where they ſtay'd

ſome Days; whence on the 1ſt of *May* 1693, they march'd to Camp, and paſs'd the *Pyrænean* Mountains; and on the twentieth of the ſame Month they inveſted *Roſes*. The Company of Officers ſuffered very much in that March; for they were obliged to carry their Bread, Kettles, Tent-Poles and Pins, with the other Utenſils of Sentinels; and Camp Duty was harder on them, than any Cohor in the Army; for they always mounted Double Complements to all Partizan, Volunteer, and Foraging Parties; eſpecially when there was any Probability of engaging the Enemy; As for Quarter Guards, Piquet and Advanc'd, they were only their Diverſion and Hours of Reſt.

In the Valley of *Lamparda*, where *Roſes* is ſituated, the Water is muddy, and ſcarce, and the Climate ſuppoſed by the *Spaniards* to be very unhealthful to the *French*, and when King *Charles* II. of *Spain* heard *Mareſchal de Noailles* with his Army was there, he told publickly at Court, he wanted no Army to fight them. The Company of Officers lying under all the Inconveniences that an over-hot Air, unagreeable with their Conſtitutions, and bad Water could bring bring upon them, having alſo nothing to eat but Sardinas,

Horſe-

Horse-Beans, and Garlick, and little or no Money, many of them were thrown into Fevers and Fluxes; but before I acquaint you with their Misfortunes of that Nature, I beg leave to give a List of their Names.

Lieutenant *Adam Urquhart.*
Lieutenant *Alexander Elfingston.*
Captain *Alexander Gordon.*
Colonel *Alexander Maitland.*
Captain *Alexander Mc-kenzie.*
Enfign *Alexander Poplar.*
Captain *Alexander Ramsay.*
Captain *Alexander Sinclair.*
Captain *Alexander Trottar.*
Lieutenant *Alexander Urquhart* Corporal.
Enfign *Allan Mc-clane.*
Lieutenant *Andrew Simpson* Corporal.
Enfign *Æneas Mc-donald.*
Lieutenant *Archibald Langlins.*
Lieutenant *Arthur Arneil.*
Major *Charles Erskin.*
Lieutenant *Charles Lermont.*
Captain *Charles Patin.*
Captain *Collin Campbell.*
Enfign *Daniel Vipers.*
Lieutenant *David Bane.*
Captain *David Carmichall.*
Lieutenant *David Drummond.*

Captain

Captain *David Arneil.*
Lieutenant *Donald Bane* Sergant.
Captain *Duncan Camron.*
Lieutenant *Edward Davison.*
Lieutenant *Francis Gordon*, Serjeant.
Captain *George Buchan.*
Lieutenant *George Edwards.*
Lieutenant *George Heriot.*
Captain *George Drummond.*
Lieutenant *Hugh Sutherland.*
Lieutenant *James Gray.*
Captain *James Henderson.*
Lieutenant *James Henderson.*
Captain *James Innes* Corporal.
Lieutenant *James O Bryan.*
Captain *James Montgomery.*
Captain *James Clark.*
Lieutenant *James Oswald.*
Lieutenant *James Toucks.*
Lieutenant *John Caruthers.*
Captain *John Dunbar.*
Captain *John Hamilton.*
Captain *John Arnut.*
Captain *John Gray.*
Captain and Engineer *John Hepburn.*
Lieutenant *John Oglethorp.*
Captain *John Riddel.*
Lieutenant *John Paterson.*
Captain *John Sinclair.*
Captain *John Mc-intosh.*

Captain

Captain *John Ogilvie.*
Lieutenant *John Mewrice.*
Captain *Joseph Brody.*
Captain *Isaac Thrycle.*
Captain *Kennet Urquhart.*
Lieutenant *Laurence Drummond.*
Lieutenant *Laurence Wallace.*
Lieutenant *Patrick Cunningham.*
Lieutenant *Patrick Dickson.*
Captain *Patrick Grahame.*
Lieutenant *Patrick Grahame.*
Lieutenant *Patrick Ogilvie.*
Lieutenant *Philip Hamilton.*
Captain *Robert Arbuthnot.*
Lieutenant *Robert Barclay.*
Lieutenant *Robert Maxwel.*
Lieutenant *Robert Killoch.*
Colonel *Robert Somervel.*
Lieutenant *Robert Pierce.*
Lieutenant *Robert Keeth.*
Lieutenant *Robert Barclay.*
Captain *Samuel Maxwell.*
Captain *Samuel Windrom.*
Lieutenant *Stephen Sexon.*
Lieutenant *Thomas Clark.*
Lieutenant *Tho Ogilvy.*
Captain *Walter Achmuty.*
Captain *Walter Nisbet.*
Lieutenant *William Collins.*
Captain *William Maxwell.*
Lieutenant *William Culbert.*

Colonel *William Davison.*
Captain *William Innes.*
Lieutenant *William Minzies.*
Captain *William Main.*
Lieutenant *William Lyon* Serjeant.
Lieutenant *William Plummer.*
Lieutenant *William Shewen.*
Captain *William Cunningham.*
Lieutenant *William Boyd.*
Lieutenant *William Bruce.*
Captain *William Ramsay.*
Captain *William Robinson.*

Though many of the Gentlemen had Fevers and Fluxes, yet no Arguments that Major General *Wachop* and the *Irish* Officers could use, were prevalent enough to persuade them to go to *Perpignan* Hospital; but they would continue in Camp, and do their Duty, which was very hard; for their were no Pioneers in the Army, which obliged the Soldiers to cut Wood, and make Fascins to cast up Trenches, and raise all the Batteries against the Town.

The *Spaniards* are much accustomed to Picketering; who having Intelligence, as it was believed in the *French* Army, when the Company of Officers mounted the Trenches with some Detachments of the *Irish*, they sally'd out of the Town several

ral Times into a Field of Barley, where they were boldly attack'd by an equal Number of Officers, who repuls'd them three ſeveral Times to the Draw-Bridge in the View of their Gariſon, and *French* Army. A *French* Major General being preſent, ask'd Colonel *Scot* who commanded the Trenches, why theſe Men always attack'd the Enemy, and not the others? who told him, that theſe were of the Company of *Scotch* Officers, the others *Iriſh*: The Major General ſmiling ask'd his Pardon, and ſaid, he had often heard that *Scotland* and *Ireland* were two diſtinct Kingdoms, but never knew the Difference till now. On the 27 of *May*, the Company of Officers, and other *Scotch* Companies, were join'd by two Companies of *Iriſh*, to make up a Battalion in order to mount the Trenches, and the major Part of the Officers liſted themſelves in the Company of Granadeers, under the Command of the brave Major *Rutherford*, who on his way to the Trenches, in ſight of *Mareſcal de Noailles*, and his Court, march'd with his Company on the Side of the Trench, which expoſed him to the Fire of a Baſtion, where there were two Culverins, and ſeveral other Guns planted; likewiſe to the Fire of two Curtins

lin'd

lin'd with ſmall Shot. Colonel *Brown* following with the Battalion, was oblig'd in Honour to march the ſame way Major *Rutherford* had done; the Danger whereof the *Mareſchal* immediately perceiving, ordered one of his *Aid-de-Camps* to command *Rutherford* to march under Cover of the Trench, which he did; and if it had been delay'd ſix Minutes, the Granadeers and Battalion had been cut in pieces. *Rutherford*, with his Granadeers, march'd to a Trench next the Town, and the Battalion to a Trench on the Rear and Flank of the Granadeers, who fir'd ſo inceſſantly on the Beſieged, that they thought (the Breach being practicable) they were going to make their Attacks, immediately beat a Chamade, and were willing to give up the Town on reaſonable Terms; but the *Mareſchal*'s Demands were ſo exorbitant, that the Governour could not agree to them. Then Firing began on both Sides to be very hot; and they in the Town ſeeing how the Granadeers lay, kill'd eight of them; the bold Captain *William Ramſay* was ſhot through both Legs, and died in two Days; and the brave Major *Rutherford*, along the Back, and died in three Days. When the Governour ſuendered the Town, he inquir'd

quir'd of the *Mareſchal*, what Country Men theſe Granadeers were; and aſſur'd him, 'twas on their Account he delivered up the Town, becauſe they fir'd ſo hotly, that he believ'd they were reſolv'd to attack the Breach: Who anſwered ſmiling, *Ce ſont mes Enfans*, They are my Children. Again, They are the King of *Great Britain*'s *Scotch* Officers, who to ſhew their Willingneſs to ſhare of his Miſeries, have reduced themſelves to the carrying of Arms, and choſen to ſerve under my Command. The next Day when the *Mareſchal* rode along the Front of the Camp, he halted at the Company of Officers Piquet, and they all ſurrounded him. Then with his Hat in his Hand, he thanked them for their good Services the Trenches, and freely acknowledged it was their Conduct and Courage that obliged the Governour to give up the Town; and aſſur'd them he would acquaint his Maſter with the ſame, which he accordingly did; for when his Son arriv'd with the News at *Verſailles*, the K. having read the Letter, immediately took Coach to *St. Germains*; and when he had ſhewn King *James* the Letter, he thanked him for the Services his Subjects had done in taking *Roſes* in *Catalonia*, who with Con-

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cern reply'd, They were the Stock of his *Britiſh* Officers, and that He was ſorry He could not make better Proviſion for them.

At this time, *Mareſchal de Noailles* was ſo generous and kind to the Officers, that he gave every one of them a Piſtol, two Shirts, a Night-cap, two Cravats, and a pair of Shoes, which Col. *Brown* diſtributed as as he thought fit; to ſome he gave a Piſtol, without any of the above ſpecify'd Neceſſaries; to others a pair of Shoes, to others a Shirt, and to ſome nothing: All this, as it was ſurmis'd by the Officers, was done by Col. *Scot's* Advice; King *James* likewiſe gave every Officer five Pence *per diem*, which was paid Monthly, from which *Brown* made always ſome Deductions, for Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, broken Swords, Fuſils, or ſome other Neceſſaries the Gentlemen wanted, though the King of *France* allows his Soldiers half Mounting, and every Captain fifty Piſtols to make his Campaign. All the Favours the Officers received from King *James* and *Mareſchal de Noailles*, could not preſerve their Health, but they fell ſick every Day of Fevers, Agues, and Fluxes, of which the *Mareſchal* being informed, he deſired them

them to leave the Camp, and chuſe their own Gariſon, who humbly thanked his Excellency for his kind Offer, but withal told him, They came not to that Country to lie within old rotten Walls, when the King of *France* (who was ſo kind to their Maſter) had Buſineſs in the Field; therefore begg'd his Excuſe, and would not leave the Camp while one Man of them was alive. About the middle of *June*, 1693, the Army march'd from *Roſes* to *Piſcador*, where 10000 did not arrive in the Camp, of 26000, but were left on the way, by reaſon of the extraordinary Heat, and want of Water. The Generals being afraid the *Spaniſh* Army ſhould attack their Rear, order'd all the Piquet to be drawn out immediately, and to march; but the greateſt Part of the Army not being come up to the Ground, the Corporals could not get their Complements to the Piquets; in this Accident, all the Company of Officers that were in the Camp, Mounted for their Comarades and march'd to the Parade of the Piquet, where the Generals ſeeing only that Piquet of the Officers in Readineſs and good Order, ſaid to one another, *le Gentilhomme eſt toujours Gentilhomme, & ſe montre toujours tel dans le beſoin, & dans le danger*: Gentlemen are Gentle-

Gentlemen, and will always ſhew themſelves ſuch in time of Need and Danger. About the middle of *July* they repaſt ſome of the *Pyrenees*, and cantoned in *Valle France*, at the Foot of Mount *Canigo*, till about the 20th of *Auguſt*, when they marched to Mount *Eſcu*, where Major General *Wachop*, with ſome *Iriſh* Troops, went to *Savoy*. Afterwards they made a ſecond Campaign on the Plains of *Cerdonna*, and on the 1ſt of *November* returned to *Perpignan*, where they ſtay'd twelve Days, thence march'd to *Tourellers* for Winter Quarters, where they received a Rout to march to *Alſace*, which was procured by the Intereſt of the Officers Friends and Acquaintances at *St. Germains*, who heard of their Sickneſs in *Catalonia*, and made Interceſſion with King *James* to have them removed to another Province that was more healthful and agreeable to their Conſtitutions, which they thought to be *Alſace*, by reaſon of its Coldneſs, which proved worſe, as will afterwards appear, but before we leave *Catalonia*, I beg leave to give you a Liſt of the Names of the Officers that dy'd there of the natural Diſeaſes of the Country, and by the Fatigues and Hardſhips of the Compaign.

In

In *Perpignan* Hospital dy'd,
Captain *John Sinclair.*
Captain *John Dunbar.*
Lieutenant *William Culbert.*
Lieutenant *Thomas Gordon.*
Lieutenant *William Bruce.*
Lieutenant *Archibald Langlins.*
Captain *Edward Murryman.*
Captain *James Henderson.*
Lieutenant *George Edwards.*
Lieutenant *David Bane.*
Captain *Charles Patin.*
Lieutenant *William Lyon*, Serjeant.
Lieutenant *James Gray.*
Captain *Duncan Cameron.*
Lieutenant *Edward Cockeran.*
Lieutenant *David Drummond.*
Captain *Samuel Windrom* dy'd at *Tourelles.*
Captain *John Keith*, } dy'd at *Colliver.*
Lieut *Alex. Urquhart.* }

Here is plainly seen the difference between Gentlemen who are tenderly and plentifully brought up, and the poorer sort, who are pinch'd of all Necessaries: The other two Companies, who were all *Scotchmen*, had less Pay, and did equal Duty with the Company of Officers, lost not four Men the whole Campaign, whereas

whereas the Company of Officers, for want of good Eating and Drinking, Cloaths, Linnen and other Neceſſaries, and by the extraordinary Fatigues of Guards and Marches, were thrown into *Fluxes* and *Feavers* that carry'd them off.

The Rout from *Catalonia* to *Alſace*, after this Loſs, no doubt was acceptable to the Officers, but ſurprizing to *Mareſchal de Noailles*, who had uſed them with ſo much Kindneſs: He immediately ſent for Colonel *Brown*, and ſhew'd him his Orders to march, and deſired *Brown* to inform him, on his Honour, if the Gentlemen had receiv'd any Affront from him or his Officers, he would make them all imaginable Satisfaction, and farther declared, it was his Reſolution to provide for them all in his Army, according to the Poſts they had enjoyed under King *James*, and that he never had Troops under his Command he reſpected ſo much as them, and was heartily ſorry to part with them; but the King's Orders muſt be obey'd.

On the 4th of *December*, 1693, The Company of Officers with the other two *Scotch* Companies, began their March, from *Tureilles* in *Rouſſilion* to *Siliſtad* in *Alſace*: As for the Gentlemen, in many reſpects, they were very fit for that March,

March, for the Market of *Perpignan* eas'd them of that trouble they us'd to have in hiring Mules for their Baggage, that when they left the Country, the moſt frugal of them could carry his Equipage in a Handkerchief, and many had none at all: And the Fatigues and Hardſhips of the Campaign had reduced their Bodies ſo low, that many of them look'd rather like Shadows and Skeletons than Men, their Coats were old and thin, many of their Breeches wanted Lining, and their Stockings and Shoes were tore and wore in pieces, ſo that by the time they came to *Lyons*, where they kept their *Chriſtmaſs*, their Miſeries and Wants, were ſo many and great, that I am aſhamed to expreſs them; yet no Man that converſed with them, could ever accuſe them of a diſloyal Thought, or the leaſt Uneaſineſs under their Misfortunes. When they got over their Bottles (which was but ſeldom) their Converſation was of Pity and Compaſſion for the King and Young Gentleman, and how his Majeſty might be reſtored without any Prejudice to his Subjects.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Misfortunes, which the Officers were under, Colonel *Brown* left them at *Roman* in *Dauphiny*, and went to *St. Germains*, without giving

any of them a Farthing to buy the Neceſſaries they wanted, tho' he had above two Months Gratification Money (as they called it) from King *James* at five pence *per diem* to every Officer; ſuch was the ill Fortune of thoſe worthy Gentlemen, to have a Perſon of ſuch ill Principles to command them. Three Days after they marched from *Lyons*, thro' the Country of *Bruce*, a Storm of Snow fell three foot deep, and covered the Ground until the latter end of *February*, ſo that as they marched thro' the Confines of *Burgundy*, the *French County*, and part of *Alſace*, where there was a Famine, and great Scarcity of all manner of Proviſions. The Froſt and Cold was ſo vehement and piercing, and the King's Allowance in the Tap, ſo ſmall, that the Officers were like to be ſtarv'd with Hunger and Cold. Captain *Alex. Sinclair*, was left ſick at *Bizanſon*, and there dy'd. On that March many of the Officers gave themſelves over for loſt, and dead Men; and how could it be otherwiſe, for they ſaw nothing as they paſt, but a half-ſtarv'd People in ſome Houſes, and the reſt empty. When they arriv'd at *Siliſtad*, where they were to Gariſon, The Governour, who was their Countryman, Town Major, and the reſt of the Officers of the Gariſon

Garison, receiv'd them with incredible Civility, and invited several of them frequently to dine and sup with them, but it was so extreamly cold, and all sorts of Provision so excessive dear, that the Officers were obliged to open a second Market at *Siliſtad*, of Silver Handled Swords, Snuff-Boxes, Seals, Silver Buckles, *Engliſh* Periwigs, and where-ever they came they had always a running Market of Ruffles, Cravats, Stockings, and the like. In the beginning of the Tragedy, some us'd to say, This is the Seal of our Family. I got it from my Grandfather, therefore I'll never part with it; others, I got this Ring from my Mother or Mistress, I'll rather be damn'd than sell it: But when the Gentleman, *Poverty*, came amongst them, he carry'd off every thing fair and clean, without any Exception or Distinction, and all the Donors Returns, were their Healths toss'd about in a Bumper, with a remnant of old *Latin*, *Neceſſitas non habet Legem.* At *Siliſtad* the Officers were in very great Want, Provisions dear, the Bread six Pence *per* pound, and their Pay was but three pence *per diem*; so that all they could purchase was a few Horse Beans, Turnips, Colwarts, or a little yellow Seed which

they boil'd in Water, to keep Life and Soul together. They were certainly very religious, for they kept *Lent* all the Year round. Tho' their Sufferings and Hardships in *Alsace* far exceeded any Misfortunes they met with in *Catalonia*, yet it was obſerv'd by all Strangers that converſed with them, that even in their greateſt Extremities they never repin'd, nor accus'd K. *James* for his own, or their Calamities; but with a Primitive Chriſtian Patience and Courage, humbly ſubmitted themſelves to Providence, knowing and believing, that God was juſt, and would at his own appointed time, eſtabliſh the Royal Family in the Throne.

The only Friends the Company of Officers had along with them in their Travels, were Captain *Foſter*, and Captain *Drycot*, who commanded the other two Companies; they often treated them, and ſupply'd them with Neceſſaries, as far as their Circumſtances would permit; and I ſhould not forgive my ſelf if I forgot honeſt Captain *George Shyn*, who never let a Gentleman want a Dinner, nor a Bottle of Wine, when he had Money in his Pocket. As for Colonel *Brown*, *Gordon*, *Scot*, and Major *Buchan*, who cheated them of the Five Pence *per Diem*, that

that King *James* allowed them, it is not to be presum'd the Gentlemen often troubled their Tables. In *Silistad*, *June* 10, 1694, on the Young Gentleman's Birthday, Colonel *Brown* invited many of the Officers to a Treat, and to drink the King, Young Gentleman, and Queen's Healths, where some of them, particularly Lieutenant *Patrick Dickson*, told him frankly how ill he had used them; and that if His Majesty was rightly informed, he would lose his Commission, and be for ever banish'd the King's Presence. On this the Company broke up, and it became a very good Excuse afterwards for the Colonel, never to give a Tenth Day of *June*'s Treat to any of the Company of Officers. That Year the Company of Officers, and the other two, lay in Garison at *Silistad*, all that Campaign, because of their hard March from *Catalonia*, the Sickness that was amongst them, and their not being able to make up a Battalion. There dyed in *Silistad*,

Captain *William Main*.
Captain *David Carmichall*.
Ensign *Allan Mc-lane*.
Lieutenant *Turner*.
Lieutenant *Andrew Simpson* Corporal.

all in the Company of Officers; and the

News thereof being carried a second time to St. *Germains*, King *James*, who had a ways a paternal Tenderness for all his Subjects, especially for that Honourable Company of Loyalists, sent immediately Orders to Colonel *Brown*, to give as many of the Officers their Discharges, as pleased, and that they should make the best of their way to St. *Germains*. Upon the receiving of His Majesty's Letter, the Colonel assembled the Company; and reading it to them, Jesuitically desired the Favour of the Gentlemen to stay six Months, till he had got Recruits from *Flanders* and *France*, for the Company; but all his Design was to have the Days short, and Roads deep, that they could not march; which Stratagem did not take; for they stay'd till *November*, and then the following Gentlemen, *viz.*

Captain *Collin Campbell.*
Captain *Robert Arbuthnot.*
Captain *John Mc-intosh.*
Captain *John Hamilton.*
Captain *Philip Hamilton.*
Captain *David Arneil.*
Captain *Walter Ashmuty.*
Lieutenant *John Mewrice.*
Captain and Engineer *John Hepburn.*
Lieutenant *John Oglethorp.*

Lieute-

Lieutenant *Robert Killoch.*
Lieutenant *Patrick Dickſon.*
Lieutenant *John Paterſon.*
Captain *Iſaac Thrycle.*

demanded their Diſcharges, and went to St. *Germains*, where they met with a gracious Reception from His Majeſty, and had it put to their Choice, either to ſtay at St. *Germains* upon a handſome Subſiſtance, or with other Officers, to have a Sum of Money to carry them to their own Country. But they ſtayed ſome Days at Court, without any Determination; in which time the Young Gentleman went to *Marli*, for his Diverſion; and, as is uſual, took Coach at the Gate, where he ſaw four of the Company of Officers, whom he knew by their Soldiers Cloaths, and beckned to them. The Gentlemen made Haſte, and all kneeling kiſs'd his Hand, which was the ſecond time. He told them he was ſorry for their Misfortunes, and that he hop'd to live, to ſee His Majeſty in a Condition to reward their Sufferings; as for himſelf, he was but a Child, and did not underſtand much; but according to the rude Notions he had of Government, and the Affairs of the World, they were Men of Honour, and loyal Subjects, and had by their Sufferings

laid

laid such Obligations upon him in his Childhood, that he could never forget them. When he had thus expres'd himself, he gave them his Purse, and desir'd they would divide it amongst them, and go drink His Majesty and the Queen's Health; withal he told them he was sorry the Queen allow'd him no more Money. Then he went to his Coach, and they to the Prince of *Orange*'s Head, Tavern, where they spoke no Treason, nor burnt Pretenders. There were ten Pistols, and three Half Crowns in the Purse: and after they divided the Money, there was like to be a Quarrel about the Purse, for the Sake of the Donor; the Noise whereof being immediately carry'd to Court, some of the Nobility sent a Footman, in the King's Name, for the Purse, which was sent, though His Majesty knew nothing of the Matter. Often afterwards, when the Young Gentleman, in his Walks in the Garden, saw any of the Officers, he gave them Pistols, Half Pistols, or what Money he had about him, and desired them to go dine, and tell no Person he had given them any thing. When he dined, if he had not seen several of the Officers standing by his Table, he used to say, he admir'd where his *Scotch* Protestant Officers were, and

confess,

confeſs, of all the Subjects that follow'd King *James*, he loved them beſt; as for Prieſts, he could never endure them; and when any ſtood by his Table, he uſed, with a Stern and angry Countenance, to ſay, They had ruin'd his Father, but they ſhould never ſerve him ſo. Obſerve that in all this Honourable Company of Officers, there were not four Roman Catholicks, but ſeveral young Proteſtant Divines, who at the Revolution, when the Epiſcopal Clergy of *Scotland* were mobb'd and murder'd by the Presbyterians, went to the *Highlands* with *Dundee*, who for their good Services gave them Commiſſions, and after his Death went to *France*.

The Account the Officers gave King *James*, and the Court of *France*, of their Sufferings and ill Uſage they received from Colonel *Brown*, together with ſome inſolent Language he gave the noble Earl of *Dumferling*, who was ſacred to the Court, and the Officers, rendered him ſo ridiculous, that no Gentleman would converſe with him. He had likewiſe a Rencounter with Captain *Robert Arbuthnot*, one of the Officers, at the Caſtle-Gate of St. *Germains*, where both drew, and made ſeveral Puſhes, but were prevented by the Guards; and when the Rencounter was examin'd

examin'd by the Duke of *Powys*, *Brown* was ordered to beg *Arbuthnot* Pardon.

But the *Brown Fox*, whose Practices were agreeable to his Education, notwithstanding all the Ills he was guilty of, had yet a Hole to run into. He drew up a Certificate at St. *Germains*, of the many Services he had done to the Officers, which he sent to *Silistad*, to Colonel *Scot* and Major *Buchan*, who prevailed with the Governour to assemble the Company, and desire them to subscribe it, which, by *Scot* and *Buchan*'s Insinuations, a few did, and many did not. But when it was brought to St. *Germains*, and presented to His Majesty, all the Officers Names in the Company were at it; whence some believ'd, and *Brown*'s Friends positively affirm'd the Officers had been very much in the wrong to him, and that he had done them Justice, till Letters came from *Silistad* shewing the contrary; and that the major Part of the Officers had protested against it, particularly five or six *English* Gentlemen, who told the Governour, that King *James* allowed them Five Pence *per Diem* extraordinary; and that it was monthly payed to Colonel *Brown*, who never had accounted with them for it. Again, when *Roses* was taken, that

*Mareschal*

*Mareschal de Noailles* gave every Officer in the Company, a Pistol, two Shirts, a Pair of Shoes, a Night-cap, and two Cravats; and that *Brown* had given some Gentlemen the Pistol, but no Shirt, nor Shoes; to others a Shirt, or Pair of Shoes, but no Pistol; so that he did with the *Mareschal*'s Present what he pleased. Again, a Mule that cost *Mareschal de Noailles* fifty Pistols, which he presented to the Officers to carry their Tents, was sold by Major *Buchan*, and he never accounted with them for the Money. Many other Grievances like unto these were exhibited to the Governour, who was both surprized and ashamed to appear in Colonel *Brown*'s Behalf, so that Letters came from *Silistad*, shewing what Objections the Officers made to the Governour against the Certificate, and that not a third part of the Gentlemen had subscrib'd it, upon which Colonel *Brown* was slighted by every Body, and order'd to his Command in *Silistad*: Afterwards all the Officers in in the Company were exactly paid ten pence *per diem*. The only material thing that was transacted, while the Company of Officers, and the other two, were at *Silistad*, was, that in 1694, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with his Army of 80000 Men,

past

paſt the *Rhine*, and ſtay'd three Weeks in *Alſace*, which he deſign'd to bring under Contribution. Then the three *Scotch* Companies, with a Battalion of *French*, and a Battalion of the *Namure* Regiment, were in Gariſon in *Siliſtad*, where the Governour was apprehenſive of a Siege, and was often pleas'd to declare publickly that if he were beſieged, he depended more on the Service of theſe three Companies, particularly on that of the Officers, than he did on the two Battallions. But Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* receiving Intelligence that *Mareſchal de Boufflers* was advancing with 15000 Horſe and Dragoons left all his Baggage and retreated in Confuſion, broke his Bridges as he paſt the *Rhine*, and drowned 3000 of his own Men; in the mean time there was 100 *Huſſars* of his Army foraging and plundering in *Alſace*, and the next Day when they came to their Camp, they were ſurprized to hear *French* Drums, and that their own Army were repaſt the *Rhine*, and they left on the *French* ſide; but immediately reſolv'd to march thro' *Alſace*, and make the beſt of their way to *Baſil*, whereof *Mareſchal de Large* had Intelligence, and diſpatch'd Couriers to all the Governours, to ſend out their Gariſons, and line all the ways, through

through which they thought those *Hussars* might pass. The Governour of *Silistad*, being glad of an Opportunity to serve the Company of Officers, sent them to guard a Pass, where he knew the *Hussars* must infallibly come, who marching directly thither, were informed by a *Few*, that if they advanc'd any ferther, every Man of them would be either taken or kill'd; for there was a Company of the King of *Britain*'s Officers that lay in wait for them; they immediately returned to *Strasburg*, and gave themselves up Prisoners, where they declared, that if they could have pass'd that Company of Officers, they would not have been afraid of all the Garisons in *Alsace*, but march'd quite thro', and cross'd the *Rhine* at *Basil* in *Switzerland*. In *February*, 1695, the Company of Officers and the other two marched from *Silistad* to *Old Brisac*, whence the Company of Officers were sent to Fort *Cadette* in the *Rhine*, where they lay one Year and four Months. Thence they marched to *Strasburg*, and in *December*, 1697, General *Stirk* appeared with 16000 Men on the other side of the *Rhine*, which obliged the Marquess *de Sell* to draw out all the Garisons in *Alsace*, who made up about 4000 Men, and he encamp'd

encamp'd on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, over againſt General *Stirk*, to prevent his paſſing the *Rhine*, and carrying a Bridge over into an Iſland in the middle of the *Rhine*, which the *French* foreſaw would be of great prejudice to them, and that the Enemies Guns planted on that Iſland, would extremely gall their Camp, which they could not hinder for the deepneſs of the Water, and their wanting of Boats, for which the Marquiſs quickly ſent, but coming too late, the *Germans* had carry'd a Bridge over into the Iſland, where they poſted above five Hundred Men, who by the Orders of their Engineers, entrench'd themſelves; which the Company of Officers perceiving, who always graſp'd after Honour, and ſcorn'd all Thoughts of Danger, reſolv'd to wade the River, and attack the *Germans* in the Iſland; and for that effect, deſired Captain *John Foſter*, who then commanded them, to beg of the Marqueſs, that they might have Liberty to attack the *Germans* in the Iſland, who told Captain *Foſter*, when the Boats came up, they ſhould be the firſt that attacked: *Foſter* courteouſly thanked the Marqueſs, and told him, they would wade into the Iſland, who ſhrunk up his Shoulders, pray'd God to bleſs them, and

deſired

desired them to do what they pleas'd. Captain *Foster*, went immdiately to the Company of Officers, who with the other two, got privately to their Arms, it being under Night, and ty'd their Arms, Shoes and Stockings, about their Necks, advanced quietly to the Banks of the River, went softly in, and waded Hand in Hand, according to the *Highland* Fashion, where the Water was as high as their Breasts; and as soon as they past the depth of the River, they halted, unty'd their Cartouch-boxes and Fire-locks (all this while the *Germans*, in the Island, were very busy in entrenching themselves) then they marched with rested Firelocks, and poured in a whole Voley of Shot on them, at which Surprize, the Enemy ran in Confusion, broke down their own Bridges, and several of them were drowned; the Officers pursuing them close, killed several of them. When the Marquess *de Sell* heard the firing, and understood that the *Germans* were beat out of the Island, he made the Sign of the Cross on his Face and Breast, and declared publickly, that it was the bravest Action that ever he saw, and that his Army had no Honour by it.

As soon as the Boats came, the Marquess sent into the Island to acquaint the

Officers, he would ſend them both Troops and Proviſions, who thanked his Excellency, and deſired he ſhould be informed that they wanted no Troops, and could not ſpare time to make Uſe of Proviſions, and only deſired Spades, Shovels, and Pickaxes, wherewith they might entrench themſelves, which were immediately ſent to them. The next Morning, the Marqueſs came into the Iſland, and kindly embraced every Officer, and thanked them for the good Service they had done his Maſter, aſſuring them, he would write a true Account of their Honour and Bravery, to the Court of *France*, which at the reading his Letters, immediately went to *St. Germains*, and thanked King *James* for the Services his Subjects had done on the *Rhine*.

The Marqueſs gave every one of the Company of Officers, a Piſtole, and they encamp'd ſix Weeks on that Iſland, when it was covered with Snow, and there were no Fires to be kindled in the Night time, neither durſt any Man ſleep under Pain of Death. General *Stirk* made ſeveral Attempts to ſurprize the Iſland, and paſs the *Rhine*, but the Officers were ſo watchful, that all his Endeavours were in vain, ſo that he was forced to decamp

camp, and retreat to the Country, and that Island is called at present, *Isle d' Escosse*, and will in liklyhood bear that Name until the General Conflagration. Afterwards the Company of Officers with the other two, returned to *Strasburgh*, where they lay two Years in Garison. In the Year 1696, a Party of *Hussars* passed the *Rhine*, above *Fort Louis*, which the Marquess having Intelligence of, sent out the Company of Officers, who attack'd the *Hussars* in a Wood, and killed several of them, got a few Horses, and some Baggage: Then the *Hussars* immediatly retreated over the *Rhine*; and this was the last Action of those Gentlemen, for in a few Weeks a Treaty of Peace was propos'd, and K. *W.* would agree to nothing until that Company of Officers was broke; and when the Peace was concluded, the three Companies marched from *Strasburgh* to *Silisstad*, where they were broke. The Company of Officers had Liberty to go where they pleas'd, but the other two Companies were joyn'd unto my Lord *Malock*'s Dragoons. Of that Company of Officers, there are not sixteen living.

And thus was dissolv'd one of the best Companies that ever marched under Com-

Command; Gentlemen, who in the midst of all their Pressures and Obscurity, never forgot they were Gentlemen, and whom the Sweets of a Brave, a Just, and an Honourable Conscience, render'd perhaps more happy, under those Sufferings, than the most Prosperous and Triumphant in Iniquity, since our Minds stamp our Happiness.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

FINIS.